

# THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

VOL. IV.—No. XLVI.—NEW SERIES.

OCTOBER 1, 1849.

PRICE 5d.

## PRO-SLAVERY ORDINANCE OF TRINIDAD.

By referring to the February number of the *Reporter*, our readers will find a memorial addressed to Lord Grey, strongly protesting against a series of resolutions passed by the Trinidad Legislative Council, the professed object of which was to coerce the labour of all immigrants introduced into that island. These resolutions were intended to form the basis of an Ordinance, and contemplated, ultimately, the coercion of the entire labouring population of the colony. A more daring attempt on personal liberty, short of the direct enactment of slavery, had not been made since its abolition in 1834. Taking advantage of a paragraph in one of Lord Grey's despatches to Lord Harris, that he was "fully prepared to support him in the enactment of laws for placing the immigrant labourers under a strict, and even severe, discipline," Lord Harris instructed the Attorney-General to prepare the objectionable resolutions as the basis of an Ordinance, which he did, and the whole planting interest hailed them with delight. The Ordinance was passed, and, in due course, sent to Lord Grey. Knowing how seriously he had departed from the strict line of justice, in the Ordinances which he had previously sanctioned for Mauritius and British Guiana, we had our fears that he would find reasons for acceding to this scandalous piece of legislation also. In this particular, however, we wronged his lordship, and have, therefore, the greatest pleasure in placing on record the following despatch, in which he distinctly lays it down, "That the labour which it is proposed to obtain under its provisions would not be free labour, and that the condition of the immigrants would be nothing more nor less than slavery, in a mitigated form, and for a limited period." In making this declaration, Lord Grey fully justifies the Anti-Slavery Committee in the objections which they took to the resolutions. With respect to the suggestions contained in the latter part of his despatch, we shall reserve our remarks for another part of the *Reporter*.

EARL GREY'S DESPATCH TO LORD HARRIS ON THE NEW  
SLAVE ORDINANCE.

Downing-street, 28th April, 1849.

MY LORD,

1. I have had the honour to receive your lordship's despatch, No. 21, of the 6th February, with the ordinance No. 3, of 1849, which had been passed on the 1st of that month, "for the purpose of promoting the industry of immigrants brought into the colony of Trinidad at the public expense."

2. After all that has taken place on the subject of the Coolie regulations, and acknowledging, as I do, the evil consequences which followed the disallowance of those regulations, without the immediate substitution of laws calculated to restrain the vagrant and disorderly dispositions of the Coolie labourers, your lordship will readily believe that I have come to the consideration of the ordinance before me, with an earnest desire to feel myself justified in advising its confirmation; and with a strong sense of the difficult and responsible situation in which I am placed when taking objections to it. I well know that it must, necessarily, be a most arduous task in the West India colonies—and in some of them, perhaps, it may be impracticable—to reconcile freedom of labour with such personal restraint as may be indispensable to secure not merely the industry, but the health and the very life of certain classes of immigrants. In Trinidad, the wildness of the country aggravates the difficulty of doing so, and the Madras Coolies at least, if not those from Calcutta, and the captured Africans, appear to belong to the classes of immigrants whom it is most necessary to

subject, for some time after their arrival, to a strict discipline, inasmuch as, when they first arrive, they are ignorant of the language of the colony, of its climate and diseases, and of the habits of civilised life.

3. But if that should appear at last to be the case, which I am most reluctant to believe, that we are really in the dilemma of having to sacrifice either the principle of free labour on the one hand, or on the other the utility, and even the lives of those particular classes of immigrants—it would follow, that immigrants of these classes should not be introduced into those places, or colonies, where this is the inevitable alternative.

4. The objection which I take to the ordinance before me is, that the labour which it is proposed to obtain under its provisions would not be free labour, and that the condition of the immigrants would be neither more nor less than slavery, in a mitigated form, and for a limited period. Under these provisions, the old difficulty would recur of finding any motive, except under fear of the lash, which is strong enough to make services not rendered in freedom, and by choice, really effective; a difficulty which has been found insuperable as often as it has been confronted; whether in the West Indies, under the meliorating system attempted between 1824 and 1833, and during the apprenticeship between 1834 and 1838; or in the penal settlements, under systems of convict discipline; or in this country, when, by a mal-administration of the poor laws, paupers were reduced, as they frequently were previously to the act of 1834, to the condition of persons working to avoid punishment, and without the hope of bettering their condition by industry.

5. The objection is not to strictness of regulation, or a compulsion to work, nor is it the amount of remuneration which is in question; but the nature of the regulations, and the manner in which the compulsion is effected. In most countries the majority of the population are under a necessity to work, as absolute as any rigour of discipline could create; and in some, as for instance many parts of India, free labourers probably work for much less in wages than the cost of the food and clothing supplied by the planters of Cuba to their slaves, or by the British Government to the convicts in the hulks; but there is always an obvious distinction between the slave and the free labourer, in the nature of the motives by which they are respectively impelled. The one works for the sake of the advantages he expects to obtain, and to avoid the privations to which he would be subject by idleness; the other, to escape the punishment to which, in the case of idleness, he is to be subject, at the will of another. Hence the one is stimulated to industry, by the knowledge that the more industrious he is, the better he will fare; whilst the other, on the contrary, desires by every means in his power to reduce to a minimum the work he must do to avoid punishment.

6. Under the regulations of this ordinance it is obvious that, except the dread of punishment, the immigrants will have no motive to labour; they are to be bound for five years, whether they like it or not, to a master, who for the first year is to give them only food, clothing, medical attendance, &c.; in the subsequent years, only such a rate of wages as may be assigned to them at the discretion of the Governor, with whom it must be supposed that it will rest to determine what "full wages" are. The rate will not in any degree depend on the skill and intelligence of the labourers, since it is impossible that these can, in each individual case, be estimated by the magistrate; and, by section 23 of the ordinance, a penalty is imposed upon any person attempting to entice away a contract labourer, and offering higher wages would, of course, come under the description of offence.

7. Thus the framers of the ordinance have manifestly relied upon the three penal clauses, 12, 13, and 14, and upon nothing else, as far as I can perceive, to enforce the industry of the immigrants. A various and multiplied experience proves, as I have said, the inefficiency of penal enactments to produce even mere labour in adequate amount, not to say active and intelligent industry. And if a profitable amount of mechanical labour were to be produced, it would be, probably, in very many cases, by blows and threats, and such other means, not contemplated in the ordinance, as might be brought to bear upon persons in a state of qualified bondage and helpless ignorance, notwithstanding any vigilance of the authorities charged with their protection. Even under a very different and apparently unobjectionable law, cases have recently occurred in Jamaica, in which it has been discovered that the labour of immigrants had been habitually stimulated by whip in the hand both of the employer and the overseer. I trust that there have been very few such cases, and that the punishment which has been inflicted by the courts of law in that island, on those who have been proved to be guilty of this abuse, will prevent its repetition; but the fact that even an isolated instance of this kind should have already occurred, affords the strongest proof how almost inevitable is the tendency to make use of terror, in some form or other, for the purpose of stimulating to exertion those who are placed under an obligation to labour, and are not at the same time impelled to industry by the advantage they derive from it.

8. It is clearly, therefore, not on such means of enforcing industry as are contemplated by this ordinance, that we must found our hopes of rendering the employers of the liberated Africans in Trinidad capable of competing successfully with the planters of Cuba or Brazil, who rely upon slave labour. If such means were resorted to, we should not have the advantages either of the system of free labour, or of slave labour. The energies and intelligence of the labourer, placed under such regulations, would not be called forth by the hope of direct benefit to himself, nor would his exertions be stimulated by that stringent application of the fear of punishment, without which forced labour can never be made effective. If her Majesty's Government could feel themselves justified in assenting to the establishment of a system so little consistent with the principle of free labour, the control of Parliament would infallibly be exercised to reverse their policy when its effects became apparent, as, in no long time, they could not fail to do.

9. But whilst these reasons appear to me to be conclusive against the policy of this measure, adopted, as you inform me, with the general concurrence of all parties in the colony, I cannot relinquish the hope that a system may still be devised under which a profitable amount of free labour may be obtained from immigration in Trinidad. It is a hope which I entertain, of course, with less confidence than before, since, after all the pains bestowed on the subject by yourself and the Council, you have conceived yourselves to be under the necessity of falling back on an ordinance, such as the present; alive, as both you and the Council must doubtless have been, to the serious objections that might be urged against it, though their full force does not appear to have been perceived. But, even with the feebler hope which I now entertain of being enabled to assist in the establishment of an effective system of immigrant free labour, in a colony affording such temptations for vagrancy as are presented by the character of the country in Trinidad, I will not allow myself to be deterred from offering for your consideration some further suggestions.

10. I wish to be distinctly understood, as by no means objecting to strict police discipline and rigorous regulations, such as shall induce a strong compulsion of circumstances, so long only as under that discipline and compulsion the labourer is made from the first to understand that he has an interest in being industrious, and that, while he cannot escape a certain amount of toil, he will reap the advantage of working cheerfully and well. I do not wish to shrink from avowing my conviction, that while I recognise the insurmountable objections to any regulations which involve the principle of slavery, it is yet absolutely necessary for their own good, no less than for that of the community, that ignorant Africans introduced into the colony should be treated in some measure as children, and subjected to a degree of control which would be highly improper, if applied to persons in a more advanced stage of civilisation.

11. You are fully aware of the system which has been adopted for the regulation of the Coolies in Mauritius at my instance, as explained in the despatches of the dates specified in the margin.

(Circular, 23rd October, 1846; Circular, 29th January, 1849.) The principle on which you will doubtless recollect these regulations to have been founded, was that of requiring the immigrant labourer to pay, either directly or indirectly (by a stamp duty paid in the first instance by his employer), a tax which he could only discharge by the earnings of his labour. This tax was so calculated with reference to the cost of procuring a subsistence, and to the value of labour, that without reasonable industry the labourer could not support himself as he had been accustomed to do, and find the means of paying the tax so as to exempt himself from the penal consequences of neglect. That system having been found effective in Mauritius, I would suggest that an endeavour should be made, by some further regulations suited to local circumstances, to adopt the principle of it to the case of the immigrants in Trinidad.

12. The first object would be so to locate the immigrants, and so to deal with them, as that they should be at liberty to choose their employer, and yet be compelled to work, and should be able to change their employers, although forbidden to wander. In order to place them in such circumstances, I would propose that they should be located in villages, which should be formed in convenient situations, with reference to the facility of access to plantations where labour may be most in demand. If proper sites for such villages cannot be found on land still belonging to the Crown, they could, no doubt, be acquired on easy terms from individuals whose properties would be benefited by the formation of such.

13. The number of negroes to be established in each village should be such as to keep within as moderate limits as possible the cost of providing these buildings, and also the medical attendance and superintendence which the immigrants would require, but at the same time taking care to avoid creating a surplus of labour in particular places. The immigrants being thus located on premises belonging to the Crown, but within reach of plantations, should be compelled by penal enactments to confine themselves to their locations by night, and to such plantations, roads, or places, as they should have a Government licence to visit or frequent by day for employment or other lawful purpose. The services of a school-master and of an immigration agent, specially entrusted with the care of the negroes there located, would be indispensable in each village, and there should also be one or more constables or headmen to call a roll daily, to see that the regulations were enforced (using compulsion under the written authority of a magistrate, and not otherwise), to watch over the health of the settlers, and to advise and assist them in obtaining employment.

14. Licences should not be given (except under special circumstances) to the immigrants to quit the location in order to go in search of a new employer elsewhere, but there should be free access for all employers of labour, coming to the location for the purpose of offering them employment, provided the employment offered should be within reach of one or other of the Government locations, to which, if the employment should be accepted, the immigrants could then be, by licence of the magistrate, transferred. For the use of the cottages and grounds, and for the advantages of medical treatment and of education, and to supply also funds to repay the Government for the cost of introducing the immigrants, and maintaining a proper police for the locations, they should be required to pay weekly, in advance, a sum of, say 3s.; and if without bodily incapacity or other reasonable cause they should fail to do so, they should then be compelled to perform the labour, *avowedly penal*, on the roads, receiving merely rations of food in return. If the required payment should not be made at the beginning of each week, then for that week the defaulter would be liable for this punishment.

15. At the same time, it should be held out to immigrants, that whenever they could afford to pay some fixed moderate price, their cottage and ground should become their own property, and they should then be released from any payment, except a moderate quarterly one, for medical advice and for education. They should also be allowed, whenever they could pay for it, to obtain land in allotments suited to their wants.

16. I have thus endeavoured to indicate the system of measures by which I still believe that it would be found possible to import immigrants at the public expense, with benefit and safety to themselves, and to the colony under your government. By such a system I should hope that they would be induced to give their labour for its fair worth in wages, with the result of a power to spend some part of their earnings in luxuries, or to lay it up with a view to the purchase of land and cottages, instead of the only

alternative which would be left to them of penal labour on the roads ; while, if some such labour were to be thrown on the hands of the Government, I am led to believe that the state of the roads in the island would afford the opportunity of employing it beneficially ; though, after all, this last is but a minor object, since the real end of this compulsory labour would be to induce the negroes to accept the employment which the planters would doubtless offer them, and probably with an advance of wages to enable them pay the weekly tax in the first instance.

17. In suggesting 8s. per week as the contribution to be levied on each of the immigrants in return for his house, ground, schooling, medical attendance, &c., I have assumed that his day's earnings would be at least 1s., and might be raised above that by extra industry, and that about half that sum would supply him with food, clothing, and other necessaries. On that assumption, it would follow that ordinary industry would be required to exempt him from penal labour. Of course, if the value of labour or the cost of subsistence should be different from the rate assumed, the amount of contribution to be required should be varied accordingly.

18. You will observe that I have proposed that the negroes should be subjected to regulations of a very stringent character, but as I have already said, regarding them as children, I consider this to be necessary. If left to themselves, they would no doubt generally pass their time in idleness, with only such an amount of exertion as would suffice to maintain them in the condition of untutored. They are too ignorant to perceive the value of instruction and of medical attendance, or to make the sacrifices necessary to procure them ; hence it is right that, by the authority of the Government, they should be required to earn the means of paying for advantages, which are not the less really of inestimable importance to them, because they are unable to appreciate their value ; and the regulations which I have detailed amount to nothing more than the establishment of a system, by which these people may be placed in the situation most favourable to civilisation and moral improvement, and may be made to pay by their labour for the benefit thus secured to them.

19. This principle of requiring the immigrants to contribute to the cost of medical and police establishments and schools would, as I conceive, be in justice equally applicable to the Creole labourers. In their case, also, it would be equally important, for their own good and that of the colony, that steady industry should be brought about and vagrancy be put down, and that ample means of instruction and civilisation should be provided for them at their own cost ; and it is, I think, most deeply to be regretted, that at the time of the abolition of slavery some such system was not adopted with regard to them, as that which I have just described. But the regulations by which any such principle could now be carried into effect, as regards them, would be matter for very cautious consideration ; and it may be but very partially practicable to repress habits of licence and indolence, which have been now for so many years suffered to prevail.

20. In conclusion, I beg again to assure you, that it is not without great reluctance that I have found myself compelled to differ from you and the Council of Trinidad on this important subject, and I shall advise that her Majesty's decision on the ordinance before me shall be suspended until there shall have been time for the enactment of a law not opposed to the principle of free labour, which you and they shall think it expedient to pass.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) GREY.

The Governor Lord Harris, &c., &c.

#### TRINIDAD.—PROPOSED POLL-TAX.

The revenue of Trinidad for some time past has fallen much below its expenditure, and various means have been suggested to meet the deficiency. It has been proposed that a reduction in the salaries of the public servants of the colony should take place, whereby a saving of £10,000 *per annum* might be effected, but this has been opposed. Besides this, two schemes for the consolidation of the public offices have been submitted to the consideration of Government, the saving from which would amount to £7,450 in the one case, and to £7,800 *per annum* in the other. We do not expect, however, that the savings from these sources, were the principle on which they are based adopted, would be large. To equalize the expenditure with the revenue, will require more vigorous measures than these. Retrenchment must be the order of the day. To meet the deficiency, however, Lord Harris proposes a system of

direct taxation, and Lord Grey approves, but, as usual, to be levied in the most inequitable and objectionable form, that of a poll-tax.

In discussing the question of direct taxation, Lord Harris says— “The attempt might be made in five different ways ; first, by a property tax ; second, by an income tax ; third, by a land tax ; fourth, by a house or family tax, as proposed by Lord Grey ; and fifth, by a tax on all persons between certain ages, resident in the colony, or remaining in it for a certain length of time.” The two first modes Lord Harris thinks may be reserved for some future occasion. A land tax, he thinks, would be impolitic, “because it is an undoubted fact, that the proprietary body is the suffering portion of the community.” The question is thus narrowed to the house or family tax and the poll-tax. Lord Harris decides against the former, and in favour of the latter. On this point we make the following extract from his lordship's despatch to Earl Grey, dated the 19th July, 1848, viz :—

“I am, then, of opinion, that a tax levied indiscriminately upon all persons between the ages of eighteen and sixty, would be the fairest, the least oppressive, and would require least trouble in collection.

“The population of the island at present amounts to at least 60,000. The half of this number may be fairly placed between the ages of eighteen and sixty, as above-mentioned ; and if each paid one dollar a quarter, that is, four dollars a year, there would be  $30,000 \times 4 = \$120,000$ , = £25,000. I think I might with safety calculate on that sum proving sufficient to carry on the affairs of the colony. I am aware, however, that a tax of this kind would prove difficult of collection, in consequence of the nomadic habits of the population. Still this might be managed by requiring strict vigilance on the part of the wardens, through whom the collection might be made ; and it would be a means of creating a kind of registration, which would be of value in many other respects, and moreover of confining people, or at least giving them an object for belonging to particular districts, in order to avoid double payments, when moving from one part of the country to the other.

“This tax would not act so heavily as to cause any emigration, for that is a point which must always be well weighed as regards this colony. Its vicinity to the mainland of Venezuela, where vast tracts of land are vacant, and where there is a very lax police, affords a never-failing opportunity to the labourer to leave if he feels himself aggrieved ; and there are those whose chief aim and object appears to be the utter ruin of the planters, who have begun to agitate this subject amongst the lower orders. I know of some cases of labourers who have already gone over, and though their departure is of no material importance, yet it is a sign which should not be slighted. I am sorry to say, that the Portuguese are showing an inclination to leave for the United States. One ship-load went last month, and another is to take its departure next week.

“As I can hardly count upon any assistance from the local taxation, it is unnecessary to touch upon it.

“I have now, my lord, laid before you, as fully as it is in my power, the general state of the finances of the island. I have shown, by my view of the probable receipts for next year, that there would be a deficiency of £4,623. That this might be met by a reduction of one-eighth from the salaries of public officers, or a poll-tax of one dollar per year on all persons between the ages of eighteen and sixty might suffice.

“But should the calculation of the Council prove more correct, and I do not deny its possibility, and that there should be a deficiency of £27,633, I have shown that this may be more than met by a deduction of one-fourth from the salary of the public officers, which would give ..... £10,000

“And by a poll-tax, which, after cost of collection, and a wide margin for defaulters, might be put at.....	18,000
	<hr/>
	£28,000

“I have, moreover, given room for further reductions, by the consolidation of offices, but on which it is as well not to count for the first year, at all events.”—*Par. Pap. No. 280—1849, pp. 8, 9.*

In reply, Lord Grey gives his sanction to the proposal of Lord Harris, in the following terms :—

“I entirely approve your project for reinstating the revenue by direct taxation ; and, for the reasons you have stated, I think that a poll-tax will be the most eligible ; your lordship, with the advice of your Council, will be best able to judge what amount of tax the population could be fairly expected to pay ; I am inclined to think that four dollars is a higher poll-tax than it would be expedient to impose, without previous experience of its operation ; and, if it be fixed at so high a rate, it may be deserving your consideration whether it should not be made applicable to males only ; were it to be limited to males, it would fall more lightly on the married labourers, and the collection of it would be also more easy. In Ceylon, the levy of such a tax has been sanctioned by an ordinance recently passed, though only for local objects, and it is anticipated that its collection will be facilitated by making it commutable for labour. I

am of opinion that this alternative might be advantageously offered in Trinidad; but the rate should be such as would make it the interest of the labourers to pay rather in money than in labour."—*Ibid.* p. 45.

Though Lord Grey would modify the proposition of Lord Harris, and thereby render it less onerous to the labouring class in Trinidad, he entirely approves of the principle on which it is based. Now, in our judgment, a worse form of taxation than that of a poll-tax can scarcely be devised; and until the noble lord took the seals of the Colonial Office, the levying of a poll-tax, since the abolition of slavery, has been forbidden by Government. It was exacted from slaveholders in relation to their slaves, but never from freemen. It is essentially a slave-tax, and in its application to free-labourers is inequitable and unjust. We therefore enter our protest against it, and hope that the friends of liberty in Trinidad will use the small amount of political power they possess, to prevent the enactment of such a tax. It will be seen that property and income, and land and houses are to be exempted from taxation, because, in either case, the planters and merchants, and those in easy circumstances will thereby be relieved; but a poll-tax is "highly approved," because it falls on the poor man—the man that lives by his toil—and that, too, in addition to the burdens he already bears in the shape of indirect taxation. Better far would it be to lessen the expenses of administering the Government, to abandon altogether the enormous expenses connected with immigration, and cut down the salaries of the public functionaries in the island to the lowest point consistent with efficiency, than to rob the poor because he is poor, and oppress the weak because they are weak, and have no power to help themselves. The necessity of the people having a voice in the management of their own affairs was never more clearly demonstrated than at the present time: for this they should labour, and struggle until they obtain it.

But we are furnished with an additional argument against the proposed tax by Lord Harris:—He says—"It would be a means of creating a kind of registration, which would be of value in many respects, and, moreover, of confining people, or, at least, giving them an object for belonging to particular districts, in order to avoid double payments, when moving from one part of the country to the other." This is a favourite point with the Governor of Trinidad; he insinuates it into all his public acts, having reference to the labouring class. He would confine them to given districts; he would not allow them to leave the plantations without a pass; he would destroy their right of locomotion if he could, by fines, imprisonments, and by a poll-tax so contrived as to make it their interest to remain in a given locality, in order to avoid double payments and punishments. We trust that in this, and in other matters which have thrown discredit on the equity and justice of his government, he will be defeated.

#### THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The American Colonization Society is making great efforts in the United States to revive an interest in its favour. It takes substantially its old ground, the necessity of removing the people of colour from the United States to Africa; and earnestly appeals, not only to individuals, but to the State legislatures, for the means of effecting this object. The coloured population are entirely left out of consideration in these appeals; they are not consulted; and, as usual, their feelings are outraged by insinuations and attacks of the most outrageous character. One new argument is adduced; Liberia has become an independent republic, and its independence has been acknowledged by Great Britain and France. If one might believe the reports which are circulated respecting it, it is an earthly paradise, and its inhabitants the most civilised, the most religious, and the most enterprising people in the world. It is represented as full of schools and clergymen, and as exercising, over some 70,000 or 80,000 of the natives within its territory, the most benign and Christian influence. It was not to be supposed, however, that this new pretension of the Colonization Society would be allowed to escape unchallenged. The free people of colour in the United States have held numerous meetings, in which they, in the most unqualified manner, condemn the Society, and oppose the removal of their brethren to Africa; and so anxious are they that the people of this country should not be imposed upon by the specious pretences of these pseudo-philanthropists, that several of their class have been sent hither to lay before the public, if needful, the evidence which justifies their opposition to the Society, which they regard as their most deadly enemy, and the greatest hindrance to the abolition of slavery now existing in the United States.

Among those of our abolition friends who have taken up the question of colonization and emancipation in America, is our esteemed friend and fellow-labourer, Lewis Tappan, of New York. From an article furnished by him to the *Congregationalist*, we give the following recent proofs that the spirit, object, and aims of the Colonization Society are the same as ever; and that it is no more deserving of the support of abolitionists now, than it was at the commencement of its career.

#### COLONIZATION AND EMANCIPATION.

The communication of Rev. Joseph Tracy, in your paper of the 20th of July, requires a reply, and it will be a new era in the history of colonization and emancipation in this country if a discussion on this exciting subject can be carried on with good temper by both parties, and come to a satisfactory result. Far be it from me to wish to "revive old quarrels," or to perpetuate "hostilities." Still the truth must be told, and error corrected. I agree with Mr. Tracy, that it is "better for all concerned and for every good cause," that we should "each do all the good we can in our own way;" but I differ with him in believing, with respect to the controversy between colonization on the one side, and the free people of colour, with their friends the abolitionists, on the other, that it is best to "let each other alone." If the principal part of the most intelligent and virtuous free people of colour in this country, and of the anti-slavery body, conscientiously believe, as they do, that the principles and conduct of the Colonization Society have been detrimental to the interests and welfare of the coloured men, bond and free, to the cause of emancipation, and to Christianity, how can they *let it alone?* In this case duty, a regard for the honour of God and the welfare of man imperiously require that it should be examined, exposed, and, if possible, overthrown—but in endeavours to accomplish this, ill-temper and unfairness should be avoided.

In a former communication I attempted to show, from the annual reports of the Colonization Society and the speeches and declarations of its prominent advocates, that its *tendency* is to encourage and "perpetuate a mean and wicked prejudice against the people of colour, and to put off the day of the slave's complete deliverance from his political, intellectual, and moral bondage."

Mr. Tracy thinks it fair that the Colonization Society should be judged, "at least in part, by some of our (its) words and works which are less than eighteen years old," intimating that the violent accusations and vituperative remarks made in former annual reports and anniversary speeches are "outlawed," and saying that "the Society has three times made important changes in its executive officers, for the sake of having its affairs more satisfactorily managed."

Accordingly I proceed, with your leave, to sustain the positions assumed in my first communication to your journal. In addressing myself to this task, I invite the attention of your numerous readers, and especially your attentive hearing, Messrs. Editors, because you have nobly said, "let it be satisfactorily shown that the legitimate tendency of the colonization movement is to perpetuate a mean and wicked prejudice against colour (people of colour), and to put off the day of the slave's complete deliverance from his political, intellectual, and moral bondage, we will answer for ourselves, and for multitudes of others, that this Society shall receive no more of our and their aid."

1. The Colonization Society *traduces the free blacks, sanctions and strengthens the existing prejudice against them, discourages and opposes their elevation in this country, and countenances oppression to induce emigration.*

"No! There is no place for them in this country. It is not their land, and they never can be made at home here. There are difficulties in the way which no power of man can remove."—Af. Rep., Nov. 1846, p. 348.

In Af. Rep., Oct. 1847, is published an article from another publication, *with encomiastic remarks*, which says, "the only safe and sure method of elevating the African race, and conferring upon them those civil, social, and political privileges which are the common birthright of the human family, is to separate them from the Anglo-Saxon race." The free people of colour are said to be an almost intolerable burden and an incubus upon the prosperity of the State. The writer will not settle, he says, whether the desire to get rid of the free people of colour in slave States on the one hand, and not to receive them into the free States on the other, be right or wrong! He quotes from another publication—"You may reason, harangue, quote the 'declaration,' abuse the South,

&c., the slavery of the negro race is a slavery to *colour*. It is a great fact, and as we believe a fulfilment of prophecy of nearly 5,000 years standing, and there is no use in fighting against facts." "His (the negro's) home is not here."

"With some honourable exceptions, the free negroes are, as a class, indolent, vicious, and dishonest."—Memorial to Leg. of Va., Am. Rep., Am. Col. Soc. Jan. 1846, p. 45.

Speaking of the 60,000 free-coloured inhabitants of Va. the above memorial says, "Worthless and more than worthless."—p. 48.

"Then will the fruition of colonization take place, and an emigration will relieve our country from a race that is in the midst of us, but not of us, and whose separation from us will be naturally advantageous."—Ninth Am. Rep. Maryland State Col. Soc. p. 10.

"The South vouchsafes no reply to anything which rests upon negro testimony, because they regard the heeding of it as beneath all contempt."—"Letters to Hon. George P. Marsh," copied into Md. Col. Journal, Sept. 1847, p. 45.

"They (the free coloured people) dwell among a race, in the midst of whom they never have enjoyed or can enjoy liberty. They fill our jails and alms-houses, &c. Such are the facts, not because they are inferior, but because they are amongst the whites, and are, therefore, doomed."—Af. Rep., Jan. 1846, p. 1.

"The colonization of these people on the coast of Africa was predicated upon the presumption—upon the *fact*, that they can never enjoy civil, political, and social freedom and equality in contact with the Anglo-Saxon, or any branch of the Caucasian or white race, inhabiting this continent."—Md. Col. Journal, copied into Af. Rep., Sept. 1846, and styled "apposite" and "forcibly expressed."

"The coloured people will be obliged to seek some other country. This result may not be for years, but it must come."—Af. Rep. Sept. 1846, p. 274.

"There is no 'home, sweet home,' for the coloured man, but in Liberia!"—Af. Rep., Oct. 1846, p. 321.

"We cannot benefit the slave by obtaining liberty for them in this country. . . . We can confer a real benefit on the African race in no other way than by separating them from the whites."—Dr. Alexander, as copied into Af. Rep., Nov. 1846, p. 342.

2. The Colonization Society, in its publications, apologises for slavery—justifies the sin of slaveholding—and "cries peace" to all who perpetrate it.

"You cannot abolish slavery, for God is pledged to sustain it."—Letters to Hon. George P. Marsh, copied into "Maryland Colonization Journal," Sept. 6, 1847, p. 44.

"Slavery in the United States has resulted, and is destined still more to result in the permanent good and advancement of the negro race."—Letter, &c., p. 99.

"The slaves would like to be rovers, too, instead of regularly discharging their daily task, which, so far as my observation in the Southern States has extended, is a comparatively light one."—"Thoughts on Colonization," by Rev. J. N. Danforth, Af. Rep. Aug. 1847, p. 255.

"There are, to be sure, some bitter things about slavery, but when all its bearings are considered, its present heaviest weight is seen not to fall upon the slave, but upon his master."—Speech of A. D. Eddy, D.D., at annual meeting, Amer. Col. Soc. in Ann. Rep., March, 1847, p. 92.

3. It tends to fortify the system of slavery, by making it easier, safer, more reputable, and more profitable for masters to hold slaves: and it urges this tendency as a claim upon the patronage of slaveholders.

I might add the confessions of agents of the Colonization Society, who have advocated its claims at the South. Mr. Finley has stated that if the free people of colour could be removed, the blacks themselves would be put in a better situation, i.e., slave property would be more secure. Mr. Bemis, when an agent of the Col. Soc., stated at N. O., that one object of the Col. Soc. was to render slave property more secure. Hon. Mr. Archer, of Va., in a speech at the ann. meeting of the Amer. Col. Soc., said—"Its design is to provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasion of profitable employment." And the managers themselves say, in their Sec. Ann. Rep., "that the colonization of free people of colour will render the slave which remains more obedient, more truthful, and consequently more useful to his master." [I am indebted for these references to a publication of Rev. J. L. Hawes, in the *Christian Mirror*.] Still I do not find, in recent publications of the Society, the principle avowed. That

it is held, however, appears from the following, in addition to the above extract.

"Some persons, we know, support the Society with a view to its missionary agencies. There are those who think that, by its means, the free colonial people may be removed from a contact with the slaves, which is injurious to the latter."—Af. Rep., Dec. 1846, p. 384.

But I have stronger testimony on this head. Francis S. Key, Esq., it is well known, was an early, and to the end of his life, a devoted member of the American Colonization Society. Before his death, he expressed regret that he had emancipated his slaves unconditionally; said that the founder of the Colonization Society regarded the free negro in a slave community as a nuisance; that slaveholders saw that the removal of the free negroes would make the slaves more contented, and hence gave a general and generous support to the Colonization Society. Mr. Key frequently uttered these sentiments to a counsellor at law, now living in the city of New York, who has this day, July 31, 1849, stated the same to me in writing, and authorises me to give his name to inquirers.

The agent of the American Colonization Society, in his memorial to the Leg. of Va. requesting aid, urges as a *motive* that the removal of the free negroes will have good influence on the slave population.—Am. Rep., Jan. 1846, p. 49.

4. It condemns immediate emancipation, and emancipation in any way which permits the emancipated to remain in this country.

"In no other way could (can) it (slavery) be removed, than by planting colonies of free coloured people on the coast of Africa."—Speech of Rev. Dr. Bethune at Col. meeting, Phila., 1846. Af. Rep., July, 1846, p. 222.

"He (the coloured man) is an exotic that does not and cannot flourish in American soil."—Address of Judge Bullock, of Ky., commended by editor of Af. Rep., Ap., 1847, p. 103.

The abolitionists strenuously endeavour to prevent the free coloured people from availing themselves of the benefits of the colonization scheme, says the "Md. Col. Journal," July 15, 1841, "holding out to them the hope, that by remaining here they will ultimately obtain social and political equality with the whites."—Md. Col. Journal, July 15, 1841.

"Believing, as colonizationists do, that the harmonious existence of the two races in the same land, as freemen both, is impossible." The Md. Col. Convention, June 4, 1841, solemnly warned the free people and coloured, "that in the opinion of this convention, a day must arrive, when circumstances that cannot be controlled, and which are now maturing, will deprive them of the freedom of choice, and leave them no alternative but removal."—Md. Col. Journal, July 15, 1841, pp. 26 and 27.

5. It denounces and vilifies all who advocate immediate emancipation.

"What has abolitionism done? It has tightened the bonds of the slave, and put back the cause of emancipation, in some States, for at least fifty years. And, finally, it has smuggled a few hundred blacks from a southern latitude and transported them to the congenial climate of Canada."—The *Colonizationist*, as quoted in the Md. Col. Journal, Nov. 1849, p. 271.

"They (the free coloured people) and their false friends, the abolitionists."—Same, p. 272.

"Abolition, immediate, unmitigated, universal abolition. The fault of them (the free people of colour) being deepened by so monstrous a fanaticism."—*Colonizationist*, as copied into Af. Rep. Oct. 1846, p. 316.

"The opposition of those who profess to be great friends of our coloured population, but who really were nothing more than anti-colonizationists, and opposed to the true interests and permanent welfare of that unfortunate class."—Speech of D. M. Reese, M.D., LL.D., before N. J. Col. Soc., Af. Rep., Dec. 1846, p. 379.

"I can conceive of nothing more dreadful (servile war), except it be the fantastic and sanguinary theory of immediate, unconditional emancipation, which, with a total ignorance of the real constitution of society in the Southern States, and a reckless disregard of the peculiar relations between the master and the slave, would sacrifice the peace of the former, and the last hope of the latter, for the sake of its own impracticable ends."—"Thoughts on Colonization," by Rev. J. N. Danforth, Af. Rep., Aug. 1847, p. 253.

"And these are the tender mercies of immediate emancipation, which would involve the master and the slave in one common ruin, drive the ship of state upon the rocks, and destroy the peace and prosperity of the country."—Same, p. 254.

"If ever a scheme of human devising had proved a failure, powerless for good, and mighty only for mischief—crushing almost beyond recovery or redemption the objects of its spurious philanthropy—that cause is modern abolitionism. An Aaron Burr in the State, it has plotted disunion; a Judas Iscariot in the Church, it has betrayed and abjured the cause; and though, like the former, it may escape conviction of overt treason, like the latter, also, give it rope enough, and it will hang itself."—Speech of Rev. Irenaeus Prime, one of the Secretaries of the American Bible Society, before N. Y. State Col. Soc., reported in Af. Rep., July, 1847, p. 196.

*6. It opposes the instruction of slaves.*

In proof of this I before quoted from the proceedings of the second anniversary of the U. S. Col. Soc. as follows. "It is the business of the free (their safety requires it) to keep the slaves in ignorance." I might have added the well-known declaration of Elias B. Caldwell, D. of C., one of the best men ever enrolled among the supporters of the Am. Col. Soc., "as long as we keep the negroes in slavery, the more ignorant they are left the better." I have not been able to find, in the recent publications of the Society, any new proof that the Society or its advocates oppose the instruction of slaves.

*7. It lowers the tone of public sentiment upon the subject of slavery—weakens the abhorrence of its abominations—and blunts public sympathy.*

"But for the name of liberty, the slave of the United States is in the enjoyment of as much comfort and happiness as those of the domestic class, the labouring class, perhaps, of any country on the face of the earth."—Speech of Rev. Dr. Winans, of the Meth. Epis. Ch. South, a Vice-Pres. of the Amer. Col. Soc., before N. Y. State Col. Soc., 1846, Af. Rep. June, 1846, p. 192.

"We have taken the broad ground, that *slavery* has done Africa and the African race, a *good*—a great *good*, and we believe that all must admit the facts!"—Speech of Joel Parker, D.D., at Ann. Meeting of Am. Col. Soc., in Ann. Rep., March, 1847, p. 88.

"God has permitted these prejudices to exist, to show that this is not to be the abiding home of this people."—Speech of Hon. Geo. H. Dunn, Af. Rep., April, 1847, p. 120.

*8. It contemplates the forcible removal of the people of colour, and violates its own constitution.*

This is an allegation, not brought forward previously, and it relates to one of the most cruel and unchristian items in the catalogue. It is also in direct opposition to the constitution of the American Colonization Society. "The object" was stated to be the colonization of the free people of colour, "with their own consent;" and it was said, to this object "its attention is to be exclusively directed." Now, even the president of the Society recommends forcible expatriation as the condition of emancipation!

"The Colonization Society has laid the foundation of a system destined to facilitate the ultimate separation of the two races of Ham and Japhet in this confederacy." Resolutions offered by Hon. Robert J. Walker, at Annual Meeting of Amer. Col. Soc., Jan. 1849; Ann. Rep., p. 18.

"The great effort of the Colonization Society is, with gradual and useful efforts, to bring about a separation of the two races."—Speech of Hon. J. R. Ingersoll, Ann. Rep., Jan. 1846, p. 29.

In Af. Rep., Oct. 1st, 1847, p. 310, is published a plan for the removal of slavery, which includes a project for the *forcible removal of the slaves to Africa*. It is stated by the editor, that "none can fail to admire the spirit manifested" by the author of the plan, while the editor utters no word of rebuke against the villainous scheme.

Hon. Henry Clay, in his recent letter to Richard Pindell (see *New York Tribune*, March 10th, 1849), "after full and deliberate consideration of the subject," lays it down "as an indispensable condition (of emancipation that) the emancipated slaves should be removed from the State to some colony." "The colonization of the free blacks, as they successively arrive, from year to year, at the age entitling them to freedom, I consider a condition absolutely indispensable. Without it I would be opposed to any scheme of emancipation." The expense of this expatriation is, says Mr. Clay, to "be defrayed by a fund to be raised from the labour of each freed slave." The *Af. Report*, April, 1849, says, let the North "show unto us a more excellent way," IF THEY CAN.

"Every year adds to their (the managers') firm conviction, that the free people of colour must remove from amongst us."—Ann. Rep. Md. State Col. Soc. in Af. Rep., July, 1846, p. 312.

W. McLean, Secretary of Am. Col. Society, says, in Am. Rep., Jan. 1849, "In the present state of the various tribes of Indians in our

midst was a great evil, which the government was called upon to mitigate, and if a great national good was done by removing them beyond our borders, then surely is the existence of the coloured race in the United States a great political evil, and this removal would be an immense national blessing. And if the government had power to act in the one case, has it not the power to act in the other?"—*National Anti-slavery Standard*, May 3, 1849.

Thus have I aimed to redeem my promise to as great an extent, Messrs. Editors, as your limits would allow. It presents a mass of testimony that will, if I mistake not, awaken very serious thoughts in the minds of all who have pledged or who may be invited to pledge their support to the Am. Col. Soc. or any of its auxiliaries.

That the Society has done *no* good I will not say, and it would be absurd to aver that the motives of all its founders and supporters have been wrong. That it was founded chiefly by slaveholders, for selfish purposes, is capable of proof; that it is at war with the best interests of the slaves and free people of colour in the United States, is conscientiously believed; that it is advocated in opposition to the principles of an enlightened philanthropy, true political wisdom, and just views of Christianity, cannot, one would think, be denied; that colonizationists, generally, are decidedly opposed to the elevation of the people of colour in this country, with a view to their remaining here, and often annoy them to make them willing to be expatriated, the coloured people think they have abundant proof, who are almost unanimously opposed to the "scheme," root and branch.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

THE BAPTIST DEACON—FIVE HUNDRED LASHES FOR ATTENDING A PRAYER MEETING.

(From Mr. Bibb's *Narrative*.)

I got permission from the Deacon, on one Sabbath day, to attend a prayer meeting on a neighbouring plantation, with a few old superannuated slaves, although this was contrary to the custom of the country—for slaves were not allowed to assemble for religious worship.

When I returned home from meeting, I told the other slaves what a good time we had at our meeting, and requested them to go with me to meeting there on the next Sabbath. As no slaves were allowed to go from the plantation on a visit without a written pass from his master, on the next Sabbath several of us went to the Deacon, to get permission to attend the prayer meeting, but he refused to let any go. I thought I would slip off and attend the meeting, and get back before he would miss me, and would not know that I had been.

When I returned home from the meeting, as I approached the house I saw Malinda standing at the fence, looking in the direction in which I was expected to return. She was weeping under great distress of mind; but it was hard for me to extort from her the reason why she wept. She finally informed me that her master had found out that I had violated his law, and I should suffer the penalty, which was five hundred lashes on my naked back.

I asked her how he knew that I had gone?

She said that I had not long been gone before he called for me, and I was not to be found. He then sent the overseer on horseback to the place where we were to meet, to see if I was there; but when the overseer got to the place the meeting was over, and I had gone back home, but had gone a nearer route through the woods, and the overseer happened not to meet me. He heard that I had been there, and hurried back home before me, and told the Deacon, who ordered him to take me, on the next morning, strip off my clothes, drive down four stakes in the ground, and fasten my limbs to them; then strike me five hundred lashes for going to the prayer meeting. This was what distressed my poor companion. She thought it was more than I could bear, and that it would be the death of me. I concluded, then, to run away, but she thought they would catch me with the bloodhounds, by their taking my track; but to avoid them I thought I would ride off on one of the Deacon's mules. She thought if I did they would sell me.

"No matter, I will try it," said I, "let the consequences be what they may." After consultation with my wife, I concluded to take her and my little daughter with me, and they would be guilty of the same crime that I was, so far as running away was concerned; and if the Deacon sold one he might sell all, and, perhaps, to the same person.

So we started off with our child that night, and made our way

down to the Red River swamps, among the buzzing insects and wild beasts of the forest.

We wandered about in the wilderness for eight or ten days before we were apprehended, striving to make our way from slavery, but it was all in vain. We had not proceeded far on our journey before we found we were on an island, surrounded by water on either side. We made our bed that night in a pile of dry leaves, which had fallen from off the trees. We were much rest-broken, wearied from hunger and travelling through briars, swamps, and cane-brakes, consequently we soon fell asleep after lying down. About the dead hour of the night I was aroused by the awful howling of a gang of blood-thirsty wolves, which had found us out, and surrounded us as their prey, there, in the dark wilderness, many miles from any house or settlement.

I had no weapon of defence but a long bowie knife, which I had slipped from the Deacon. It was a very splendid blade, about two feet in length, and about two inches in width. This used to be a part of his armour of defence, while walking about the plantation among his slaves.

The plan which I took to expel the wolves was a very dangerous one, but it proved effectual.

Our prayers were answered, and our lives spared throughout the night. We slept no more that night, and the next morning there were no wolves to be seen or heard, and we resolved not to stay on that island another night.

We travelled up and down the river-side trying to find a place where we could cross. Finally, we found a lot of drift wood clogged together, extending across the stream, at a narrow place of the river, upon which we crossed over.

But we had not yet surmounted our greatest difficulty. We had to meet one which was far more formidable than the first. Not many days after, I had to face the Deacon. We had been wandering about through the cane-brakes, bushes, and briars, for several days, when we heard the yelping of bloodhounds, a great way off, but they seemed to come nearer and nearer to us. We thought after awhile that they must be on our track; we listened attentively at the approach. We knew it was no use for us to undertake to escape from them, and as they drew nigh we heard the voice of a man hissing on the dogs.

After a while we saw the hounds coming in full speed on our track, and the soul-drivers close after them on horseback, yelling like tigers, as they came in sight. The shrill yelling of the ravening bloodhounds, as they drew nigh, made the woods echo.

The first impulse was to run, to escape the approaching danger of ferocious dogs, and blood-thirsty slave-hunters, who were so rapidly approaching me with loaded muskets and bowie knives, with a determination to kill or capture me and my family. I started to run with my little daughter in my arms, but stumbled and fell down, and scratched the arm of little Frances with a brier, so that it bled very much; but the dear child never cried, for she seemed to know the danger to which we were exposed. But we soon found that it was no use for us to run. The dogs were soon at our heels, and we were compelled to stop, or to be torn to pieces by them.

By this time, the soul-drivers came charging upon their horses, commanding us to stand still or they would shoot us down. Of course I surrendered up for the sake of my family. The most abusive terms to be found in the English language were poured forth on us, with bitter oaths. They tied my hands behind me, and drove us home before them, to suffer the penalty of the slaveholder's broken law. As we drew nigh the plantation, my heart grew faint. I was aware that we should have to suffer almost death for running off. I was filled with dreadful apprehensions at thought of meeting a professed follower of Christ whom I knew to be a hypocrite! No tongue, no pen can ever describe what my feelings were at that time.

#### CASE OF THE SISTERS EDMONDSON.

*From Rev. J. W. C. Pennington's Narrative.*

In the month of September, 1848, there appeared in my study, one morning, in New York City, an aged coloured man, of tall and slender form. I saw depicted on his countenance anxiety bordering on despair; still I was confident that he was a man whose mind was accustomed to faith. When I learned that he was a native of my own State, Maryland, having been born in the county of Montgomery, I at once became much interested in him. He had been sent to me by my friend, William Harned, Esq., of

the Anti-slavery Office, 61, John-street. He put into my hand the following bill of distress:

"Alexander, Virginia, Sept. 5, 1848.

"The bearer, Paul Edmondson, is father of two girls, Mary Jane, and Emily Catherine Edmondson. These girls have been purchased by us, and once sent to the South; and upon the positive assurance that the money for them would be raised, if they were brought back, they were returned. Nothing, it appears, has as yet been done in this respect by those who promised, and we are on the very eve of sending them South a second time; and we are candid in saying, that if they go again, we will not regard any promises made in relation to them.

"The father wishes to raise money to pay for them, and intends to appeal to the liberality of the humane and the good to aid him, and has requested us to state in writing the *condition upon which we will sell his daughters*.

"We expect to start our servants to the South in a few days; if the sum of 1200 dollars be raised and paid us in fifteen days, or we be assured of that sum, then we will retain them for twenty-five days more, to give an opportunity for raising the other 1050 dollars, otherwise we shall be compelled to send them along with our other servants.

(Signed) "BRUIN AND HILL."

The old man also showed me letters from other individuals, and one from the Rev. Matthew A. Turner, pastor of Ashbury Chapel, where he himself and his daughters were members. He was himself free, but his wife was a slave. Those two daughters were two out of fifteen children he had raised for the owner of his wife. These two girls had been sold, along with four brothers, to the traders, for an attempt to escape to the North, and gain their freedom.

On the next Sabbath evening I threw the case before my people, and the first fifty dollars of the sum was raised to restore the old man his daughters. Subsequently, the case was taken up under the management of a committee of ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, consisting of the Rev. G. Peck, D.D., Rev. E. E. Griswold, and Rev. D. Curry, and the entire sum of 2250 dollars (£450) was raised for two girls, fourteen and sixteen years of age!

But why this enormous sum for two mere children? Ah, reader, they were reared under the mildest form of slavery known to the laws of Maryland! The mother is an invalid, and allowed to live with her free husband; but she is a woman of excellent mind, and has bestowed great pains upon her daughters. If you would know, then, why these girls were held at such a price, even to their own father, read the following extract of a letter from one who was actively engaged on behalf of them, and who had several interviews with the traders to induce them to reduce the price, but without success. Writing from Washington, D. C., September 12th, 1848, this gentleman says to William Harned, "The truth is, and is confessed to be, that their destination is prostitution; of this you will be satisfied on seeing them. They are of elegant form and fine faces."

And such, dear reader, is the sad fate of hundreds of my young countrywomen, natives of my native State! Such is the fate of many who are not only reared under the mildest form of slavery, but of those who have been made acquainted with the milder system of the Prince of Peace!

When Christians and Christian ministers, then, talk about the "mildest form of slavery," "Christian masters," &c., I say my feelings are outraged. It is a great mistake to offer these as an extenuation of the system. It is calculated to mislead the public mind.

And when we speak of slavery, and complain of the wrong it is doing us, and ask to have the yoke removed, we are told—"Oh, you must not be impatient; you must not create undue excitement. You are not so badly off. Many of your masters are kind Christian men." Yes, sirs, many of our masters are professed Christians, and what advantage is that to us? The grey heads of our fathers are brought down by scores to the grave in sorrow, on account of their young and tender sons, who are sold to the far South, where they have to toil, without requite, to supply the world's market with cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, &c. Our venerable mothers are borne down with poignant grief at the fate of their children. Our sisters, if not by the law, are, by common consent, made the prey of vile men, who can bid the highest!

**The Anti-Slavery Reporter.**

LONDON, MONDAY, OCTOBER the 1st, 1849.

In the last number of the *Reporter* we inserted the copy of a memorial, forwarded by the Committee of the Anti-slavery Society to Lord Grey, relative to the occupation of the British island, Bulama, by the notorious slave-trader, Cayetaneo, the Portuguese Governor of Bissao, and to the fact of his having introduced "vast numbers of slaves," for the cultivation of the ground-nut, from which he no doubt derives a larger profit than would arise from the sale of those slaves to the Spanish and Brazilian dealers. This is the second time he has taken possession of Bulama; and, we trust, he will a second time be compelled to leave it. The following is the reply which the Committee have received to their memorial, the several points prayed for in which we have a right to expect will be granted, when the inquiry shall be terminated.

Colonial Office, 27th Sept., 1849.

Sir,—I am directed by Earl Grey to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th ultimo, relative to the alleged employment of slaves on the island of Bulama, by the Portuguese Governor of Bissao; and I am to request that you will inform the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, that the Governor of Sierra Leone has been instructed to report upon the circumstances which you have brought under the notice of his lordship.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) HERMAN MERIVALE.

John Scoble, Esq.

It is with great pleasure we announce the fact that Lord Grey has decided against the pro-slavery Ordinance lately passed by the Legislative Assembly in Trinidad, "for the purpose of promoting the industry of immigrants" brought into that colony "at the public expense." A copy of the despatch, which announced his determination to Lord Harris, will be found in another part of our paper. In the memorial which the Anti-slavery Committee presented against the resolutions on which the Ordinance was based, they described them, "with some slight variations," to be "a renewal of the former slave code of Trinidad;" and expressed "the most serious alarm at the revival, under new names and forms, of a system of slavery which they had hoped had for ever passed away from every part of the British dominions." They were fully justified in using this language. Lord Grey himself justifies it; for, notwithstanding he came "to the consideration of the Ordinance with an earnest desire to feel himself justified in advising its confirmation," he was compelled, on examination, to say, "The objection which I take to the Ordinance before me is, that the labour which it is proposed to obtain under its provisions would not be free labour, and the condition of the immigrants would be neither more nor less than slavery, in a mitigated form, and for a limited period;" and, therefore, "not without great reluctance," he felt himself compelled to "advise that her Majesty's decision on the Ordinance shall be suspended until there shall have been time for the enactment of a law not opposed to the principle of free labour which the Governor and Council of Trinidad shall think it expedient to pass." This declaration is not tantamount to a disallowance; but we presume that, after a condemnation so marked, the Governor of Trinidad will not venture to continue the Ordinance in operation. Lord Grey was bound, we think, to have advised the Queen peremptorily to have disallowed the Ordinance, and to have administered a severe rebuke to the Governor who advised, and to the Council who passed so obnoxious a measure. But his lordship had, *in petto*, a measure of his own, akin to that which he had condemned, by which he hoped that "a profitable amount of free labour may be obtained from immigration in Trinidad." To the consideration of the ingenious plan so highly recommended we shall now devote a few sentences.

First, then, the immigrants are to be subject to a special tax, "so calculated, with reference to the cost of subsistence, and to the value of labour, that without reasonable industry the labourer could not support himself, and find the means of paying the tax so as to exempt himself from the penal consequences of neglect." Secondly, the immigrants should be located "so to deal with them, as that they should be at liberty to choose their employer, and yet be compelled to work; and should be able to change their employer, although forbidden to wander." Thirdly, "Licences should not be given (except under special circumstances) to the immigrants to

quit the location in order to go in search of a new employer elsewhere, but there should be free access for all employers of labour, coming to the location for the purpose of offering them employment, provided the employment offered should be within the reach of one or other of the Government locations, to which, if the employment be accepted, the immigrants could then be, by licence of the magistrate, transferred." For the details of this novel scheme for coercing labour we must refer to Lord Grey's despatch.

The first thing which strikes us is the opposition of Lord Grey's plan to English principles and feelings. To levy a special tax on a labourer, and to enforce the payment of that tax by fines and imprisonment with hard labour, is nothing short of legalised robbery. The labourer, work he little or much, is as much entitled to the full reward of his toil as the noble lord is to the salary which he draws from the exchequer, for the services which he renders as Colonial Secretary. To coerce labour by the whip may appear more revolting than to extort it by a tax, but, practically, it comes to the same thing. "You must work or be whipped," is the language of the slaveholder." "You must be taxed, and work to pay that tax, or the treadmill awaits you," is the language of Lord Grey. Can anything be more unjust or oppressive than this? If the negroes are such "savages" as to require "strict police discipline and rigorous regulations" to compel labour, then they are a very bad class of persons to be introduced into the colonies as immigrants, and the sooner African immigration be abandoned the better. But we can produce evidence to prove that, however untutored they may be, the milder the treatment they receive, the more efficient labourers they make. Here is one proof, brought by the last West India mail. The St. Lucia *Palladium* says—"But for the very serious drawback experienced, in consequence of the untoward disturbances of March last, a much larger crop would have been produced this year, more especially with the valuable assistance derived from the labour of the African immigrants that have been introduced into the colony, who, in all cases, most amply repay, by their aptitude for estate-work and the steady devotedness of their conduct, the unsparing kindness and liberality of their employers. Although on the score of outlay—comparing the expense of providing the new-comers with houses, clothing, food, and other necessary comforts, with the wages usually exacted by our native peasantry—the planter may not be said to save anything, it is yet certain that the presence of these Africans on the estates does away with the serious inconvenience and loss hitherto suffered from the want of continuous labour; and the planter, quickly alive to the advantage thus placed before him, is prompted by the double incentive of humanity and interest to secure the affection and attachment of his new labourers." Here, then, we find the true incentive to labour; and similar testimony reaches us from the various colonies into which the liberated Africans have been introduced. But Lord Grey, we are happy to find, ceases to regard them as "savages," and now looks upon them as "children." He says, "You will observe that I have proposed that the negroes should be subjected to regulations of a very stringent character, but, as I have already said, regarding them as children, I consider this to be necessary." Now, in reading such puerilities, we can scarcely maintain our gravity. In one despatch, Lord Grey says, they are to be placed "under a strict and even severe discipline," because they are "savages;" in another, they "should be subjected to regulations of a very stringent character," because they are "children." In either case, no doubt, Lord Grey designs the discipline for their benefit; but what must we think of the chief of the colonial department, when, for the purpose of supplying the planters with labour, he can give his sanction to a principle of taxation so unjust and oppressive as that to which we have referred, and who would enforce the labour of the plantation by penal labour in the gaol; in other words, would substitute the treadmill for the whip!

The next point that strikes us, is the absurdity of attempting to reconcile freedom of action with the absolute denial of locomotion. The immigrants are to be collected and located in government villages. These villages are to be prisons, within the precincts of which, except when hired to estates, they are to keep, under fear of punishment. Employers may go to these prisons to engage labourers, but labourers may not go in quest of employers. The right of every man to go whithersoever he pleases, provided he infringe no right of his neighbour, or offend against the general laws of the country, is essential to freedom, and we demand it equally for the African and Coolie as for ourselves; and we must say, that if we did not feel amazed at the folly of such a suggestion

as this, we should be indignant at its presumption. Neither Lord Grey, nor the Council of Trinidad has any right, for any purpose short of punishing crime, to rob the labourer of his personal liberty, and to make him a criminal for the most innocent, and, it may be, the most praiseworthy acts.

To carry into effect Lord Grey's suggestions would involve great expense, a large increase of the police force, and great tyranny. We do not believe, however, that they will be adopted in Trinidad. The *Port of Spain Gazette*, after ridiculing the suggestions of Lord Grey, says, "But a truce to banter. If we have spoken of this latest specimen of Earl Grey's impracticable and visionary schemes in a light and jesting mood, it is not without deep grief we behold the destinies of these colonies in such hands; that we find a man to whom the nation has entrusted the welfare of millions no better prepared to meet a great emergency." . . . "Can we be expected in downright earnestness to show the futility of expecting, that when all other motives to exertion fail, freemen will set to and work for the pleasure of paying taxes—that the labour which cannot be obtained for reasonable wages, will be yielded without other *quid pro quo* than the tax-gatherer's receipt? Surely, to argue on the impracticability of such a scheme were an idle waste of time, and a wanton insult on the understanding of our readers. Nor can the injustice of the scheme, on the slightest consideration, be less evident than the impracticability. It will not be pretended—it has never been asserted on this side the water—that all the labourers are idle and unwilling to labour steadily and regularly for reasonable wages; yet, according to this plan, 'the school is to be flogged all round, that the real culprits may not escape.' The industrious and worthy are to be taxed beyond the fair proportion they should contribute to the wants of the State, in order that the lazy and worthless may be stimulated to exertion. Now, not only for our humble selves, but in the name of the whole much-abused West India community, we solemnly protest against such a doctrine." The fact is, the Trinidad planters well know, that to lay on such a tax as Lord Grey proposes would drive the industrious labourers over to the Spanish Main, where they would be free indeed, their labour suffer from no such unjust imposts, and their personal rights be respected.

To coerce labour and maintain freedom we believe to be impossible. We think Lord Grey must, by this time, have had sufficient proof of this; and we trust he may be persuaded to withdraw his sanction from the further importations of any class of immigrants who may seem to require it.

A series of papers, most ably written, "on the slave-trade and the African squadron," are in course of publication in the columns of the *Patriot* newspaper. The object of these papers is to justify the continuance of the squadron on the African coast, not for the "suppression" of the slave-trade, for that idea is wholly abandoned, but for its "repression," in conjunction with other schemes, partaking of the double character of governmental interference with commercial operations, and philanthropic control to give them a humane direction.

Though our own mind has long been made up on the various issues presented to public attention in these papers, we hail their appearance, because we are satisfied the more the slave-trade and its remedies are discussed, the nearer we shall approach to the solution of a moral problem, which is fraught with so much happiness to Africa, and is so dear to the heart of philanthropists in this country. It is not necessary, however, that those who have honestly the same object in view, the complete extinction of the slave-trade, should treat each other as antagonists, or adopt a language which may irritate but can never convince. The writer of the papers offends in this particular. He says:—"By aggravating the horrors of the middle passage, and throwing the responsibility of them on the vigilance of our cruisers, a successful appeal is made to the humanity of *every short-sighted, muddle-headed abolitionist*." Now our old ally, for it is impossible to mistake the pen to which we are indebted for these papers, will permit us to say, that we have studied the evidence upon this subject as well as himself; and are satisfied that the Slave-trade Committee fairly represented it when it declared, in one of its resolutions—"That the sufferings and mortality of slaves in the barracoons and in the middle passage are appalling to humanity, and *the intensity of the sufferings and the amount of mortality are unexampled in the history of the slave-trade*." That this dreadful fact results from the traffic having been declared illegal, and from the efforts to suppress it by the cruisers, is obvious to us, and demonstrable,

we think, from the evidence now accessible to the public. Instead, therefore, of our old friend, whose eminent services in promoting the abolition of slavery in the British colonies entitles him to the highest consideration and respect, lowering himself to the use of terms as offensive as they are inapt, let him show us the error which has been committed, and prove that it is possible to "aggravate the horrors of the middle passage," and thus render it less an object of loathing than it is at present.

But our object is not so much to review these papers at the present moment, as to correct some inaccuracies into which their author has fallen. Advocates, as we are, of what are commonly called "peace principles," we have never placed the question of the withdrawal of the cruisers, and the substitution of more efficient measures for the suppression of the slave-trade, on that ground. We have been driven to the conclusion by the facts of the case. In this service the cruisers have been employed, at an enormous cost, since the year 1819; they have been stationed off the coasts of Brazil and Cuba, as well as of Africa; they have been augmented in number, and to facilitate communication with each other, and to render them more efficient, they have been assisted by steamers; and what has been the result? The Report of the Slave-Trade Committee states it, in the following terms:—"That from the end of the year 1845, down to the present period, the strength and efficiency of the British preventive squadron have been raised to a point never before attained, and that squadron (twenty-six vessels, including steamers) has been supported by the squadrons of France and the United States (about thirty ships of war in addition), according to treaties;" and that "*the total number of negroes liberated by British cruisers, in the years 1846 and 1847, scarcely exceeded four per cent. of the slaves carried off from Africa in those years.*" Such we believe to be the facts of the case; nor do we conceive ourselves to be either "short-sighted" or "muddle-headed," because we believe with Lord John Russell, on a review of all the circumstances of the case, that "to repress the foreign slave-trade," we beg our friend to mark the words, "by a marine guard could scarcely be possible, if the whole British navy could be employed for that purpose. It is an evil that can never be adequately encountered by any system of mere prohibition and penalties." We shall return to this important subject when the papers are completed.

We should have been glad, if our space permitted it, to have given our opinion on the American scheme for annexing Cuba to the United States. For the present it has been rendered impossible by the seizure of the vessels intended to transport the sympathizers to the island: but that the scheme will be abandoned we have no reason to believe. On the contrary, we are of opinion that the check which has been received will only render the plotters more secret in their movements, and more determined in their actions.

In connexion with this subject, we beg to call the attention of our readers to a volume on "The Island of Cuba: its resources, progress, and prospects," by Dr. Madden, an old, intelligent, and tried friend of the abolition cause. It not only contains the results of his own observations, when filling an important post in the island, but he has added a large mass of valuable documents, of an official character, of much value. We cordially recommend the volume.

Among the letters received by the Anti-slavery Committee, during the past month, is a very important one from Tripoli. We learn by it that a Trading Company is to be formed for the purpose of commercial intercourse with Bornou, Morzouk, and Kanou, which promises, from the known character and position of the parties who have interested themselves in it, to have a most beneficial influence in checking the North-African slave-trade. In our next number we hope to be able to give additional particulars. Our space this month enables us to give one incident only of the horrors which mark this branch of the slave-trade. Our correspondent says:—

"The Government post from Morzouk arrived here yesterday, with very sad tidings. A large caravan, with three thousand slaves, and a numerous escort, coming from Bornou to Morzouk, found at one of the stations the wells filled with sand, when being much pressed for want of water, the caravan was compelled to retrace its way to the last station, a journey of three days. Their sufferings were so great that 1,600 poor slaves perished, besides a number of animals. The loss of merchandise, too, is said to have been considerable."

### Literature.

*Narrative of the Life of FREDERIC DOUGLASS, an American Slave.*

*Written by himself.* Pp. 128. Dublin: Webb and Chapman, 1845.  
*Narratives of the Sufferings of LEWIS and MILTON CLARKE, Sons of a Soldier of the Revolution, during a Captivity of more than 20 Years among the Slaveholders of Kentucky, one of the so-called Christian States of America. Dictated by themselves.* Pp. 144. Boston, U.S., 1846.

*Narrative of the Life and Adventures of HENRY BIBB, an American Slave.* *Written by himself, with an Introduction by L. C. Matlack.* Pp. 204. New York, 1849.

*Narrative of WILLIAM W. BROWN, an American Slave.* *Written by himself.* Pp. 168. London: C. Gilpin, 1849.

*The Fugitive Blacksmith; or, Events in the History of JAMES W. C. PENNINGTON, Pastor of a Presbyterian Church, New York, formerly a Slave in the State of Maryland, United States.* Pp. 84. London: C. Gilpin, 1849.

A new species of literature has sprung up in the United States, and is making its appearance in this country. Slaves who have escaped from the horrors of American bondage are telling their own tales, with an ability and pathos which, while they surprise, at the same time convince us that our coloured brethren, whatever may be the shade of their complexion, possess rare abilities; and whether in the oratory of the platform, or the more serious labours of the pulpit, are in no whit inferior to their more educated and privileged brethren of Anglo-Saxon descent. Here we have six well-authenticated narratives of American slaves, differing from each other in details and in style, but all proving that slavery, in whatever light it is viewed, is at war with every principle of justice, humanity, and religion; and that American slavery is, all things considered, the most gigantic system of oppression and iniquity which has ever disgraced our fallen world, or degraded our fellow-men.

"My feelings," says Mr. Pennington, "are always outraged when I hear them (professing Christians) speak of 'kind masters,' 'Christian masters,' 'the mildest form of slavery,' 'well-fed and clothed slaves,' as extenuations of slavery; I am satisfied they either mean to pervert the truth, or they do not know what they say. The being of slavery, its soul and body, lives and moves in the chattel principle—the property principle; the cartwhip, starvation, and nakedness, are its inevitable consequences to a greater or less extent, warring with the dispositions of man." This text he well illustrates in his admirable and thrilling story; and it is the point upon which the several writers of the narratives more particularly dwell, as that which lays at the foundation of all their degradation and sufferings as slaves. We need say nothing of F. Douglass. He is too well known in this country to need any recommendation of ours. His narrative has been read by thousands of our countrymen, and should be read by all. Nor need we say one word in favour of J. W. C. Pennington. His character and merits are appreciated by a large number of his Christian brethren in England. He is again on a visit to this country, and we sincerely thank him for his attractive little book, which we trust will have an extensive circulation. W. W. Brown is also among us. We have not had the same opportunities of making his acquaintance as we have had in the cases of those already mentioned. His affecting narrative demands, and will repay attention. Henry Bibb, and the two Clarkes, are yet in the United States, where the touching accounts of their sufferings and sorrows have been published. We trust they will be reprinted in this country. We can do no more in the present notice than briefly refer to the volumes before us, and earnestly recommend them, as far as they can be procured, to our readers. In our "Illustrations of American Slavery" we shall frequently have recourse to them; for we are persuaded that those who have suffered from it are best able to depict its true character, and excite the indignation of freemen against it.

### ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Mendi Mission, W. A., May 19th, 1849.

My dear Brother Scoble,—I have been waiting a long time to find out your address,—to-day, being unwell, and looking over my *National Eras*, I found your name and address, attached to a "Memorial to the British Government on the subject of the Slave-trade," from the London Anti-slavery Society. I rejoiced to see it, as also the subject of the memorial, the SLAVE-TRADE.

I live in the midst of it, and it is my daily prayer that it may, in some way, be brought to a speedy end. The how, is an important question, worthy of the consideration of the moralist, patriot, and Christian. I have been on board the slavers, and witnessed the awful scenes, enough to chill one's blood. Who can describe the horrors of 500 or 600 men, women, and children, in a state of nudity, crowded together in the hold of a small brig? The suffering, and shame, and pollution, and death, I shall not attempt to describe. I rejoiced to see them taken, and about to be restored to liberty. But where one vessel is thus taken, perhaps ten escape with their victims to the lands of perpetual slavery. And of the

sufferings that there ensue, I know a little by experience, and you know more, by information. Any means, then, which promise to bring the whole system to an end, which strike at the fountain, must be hailed with joy by every lover of his country, of his species, and of God.

The plan you propose is good—remove the DEMAND, and the supply will of course cease. Can you do that? Can any arrangements be made with Brazil, Cuba, &c., for the abolition of the system? Can they be persuaded, to "let the oppressed go free," and to unite with England in putting down the "trade?" If any thing can be done in this way, I say God speed your efforts—spare no means, no labour, no effort.

One thing is clear.—The effort to stop the trade, by keeping cruisers on the coast of Africa, is INEFFECTUAL. And should such means be greatly multiplied, they would still be impotent. Men-of-war, carnal means, cannot do it. What an almost infinity of money, men, and lives have been expended, and yet the system is almost as active as ever!

There is one way, if properly tried, that would surely and effectually meet, and destroy the evil; and I think NO OTHER. It is this:—Plant faithful missionaries all along the coast, and fifty miles in the interior, and slave-trading will soon flee away. It cannot stand the light. It is a work of darkness, and can live only in the dark. Raise Gospel lighthouses all along the coast, and it will be obliged to quit its strongholds. A few years ago, when W. Raymond came here, this region was *all alive* with the trade,—now nothing is heard of it. The fiendish Luiz said to the king, "If you do not drive away Mr. Raymond, I must leave;"—and he had to leave.

Send missionaries. If they die, send more, and keep sending. The cost in money, men, and life, will not half equal that expended on the present system of brute force. The *Gospel*—the *Gospel* alone, will be the *effectual* remedy. I would be glad to dwell on this subject,—the remedy of the slave-trade,—but I am too weak. I cannot bear the application of mind; a little throws me into a chill and fever, and last night I was very sick, so that I dare not attempt to think, or write much.

Doubtless, before now, you have seen notice of my departure for Africa. It was sudden and unexpected. I was making arrangements to join Brother Raymond, in the fall of 1848,—had printed my "Prison Life,"—sold it, and just paid my debts by the last trip, when the first thing I heard, on coming to Oberlin, was the *death* of Brother Raymond. I had transferred the copyright of "Prison Life and Prison Bard," to A. Work, whom I left to publish them. In a few days, a telegraphic despatch came from New York, calling for me to go to Africa. I sent back word "I will come,"—left my business—took my wife and child to my father's,—took stage, cars, &c., to New York,—in four days was on my way to Africa, in company with A. J. Carter. We arrived at Sierra Leone, May 9th, 1848. Brother Carter was taken with fever the day after his arrival here at the mission, and died in one week, leaving me all alone, with the whole care and responsibility of a large mission on my hands, with no experience, but little learning, wisdom, or judgment. But I threw myself on God for help, according to his promises, and he has been faithful. In about two weeks I was taken down,—had no wife, no white man, no physician, none but *natives* to take care of me. These kept me pretty still for four months, during which time I had several attacks of chill and fever, and have been sick frequently from that time to this. I preach, generally, on the Sabbath. The Lord has blessed us abundantly. I have formed a church, numbering twenty-six members,—about forty profess to pray, and serve God. A great and happy change has taken place here. I hope the Lord will carry on his own work.

The war in this country continues. Oh! when will it come to an end, and *peace* fill the world!

I have formed pleasing acquaintances in Sierra Leone, with the Governor, Chief-Justice, Collector, Missionaries, &c. When I came to Africa, I expected to return in a few months, leaving Brother Carter here, till I could go and get my family, and other labourers. But more than a year has passed, and I am here yet, and delight to be here, so long as God sees best. "Thy will be done," is my prayer. I long to see Africa redeemed to God. Oh! for labourers! If I had the men and means I could establish, at once, many stations here, and far in the interior, where is a ripe and wide field, *calling for teachers*.

(Signed) GEORGE THOMPSON.

### EXPEDITION AGAINST CUBA.

Notwithstanding the proclamation of President Taylor, dated the 11th of August, warning the citizens of the United States against engaging in any expedition against the island of Cuba, the last papers from the States are still full of details of preparations for this purpose. A meeting was held at New York, on the 31st ult., on the subject, and money, it is said, to the amount of at least 250,000 dollars, has been contributed for equipping the expedition and sending it to sea. It amounts to 1,500 men. The President, besides his proclamation, has taken all the measures we believe he is authorised to take to prevent the expedition and disperse the gathering, but there is some reason to believe that, in spite of his exertions, the expedition will proceed. Already 500 men have left New

York. The rendezvous is Round Island, which lies off the mouth of Pascagoula River, not far from Mobile; and some United States men-of-war have been sent to look after them. They have been summoned to disperse, and the steamer *Waterwitch* has intercepted their supplies of provisions. One of the chief leaders is a Captain Warlike, a name assumed, we infer, for the occasion; the other leaders mentioned are a Colonel Carlington, a Colonel Gaw, and a Captain Calls. They are said to be in constant communication with Havana merchants, who are in considerable numbers at New York. With them, or the Cubans generally, the affair originates, and it is to execute their projects.

For many years the Cubans have been impatient of the dominion of Spain, and since the establishment of the independence of her other colonies, have essayed more than once to form a republic in Cuba. The late disturbances in Europe have again suggested the idea of attempting something of the kind, and they are enrolling a military force in the United States to revolutionise Cuba. The Government of the mother country has increased in rapacity, if not in oppression; and as the people have gained rapidly in wealth and knowledge, it is natural that they should desire independence, or an alliance with their powerful neighbour. Such a desire has been fostered by Americans, who have planted themselves thickly on the island, and they will help the Cubans to gratify it.

In the United States the Cubans have already an organ for the expression of those opinions they dare not utter in Cuba, and some of their complaints, expressed in their own journal, take this form:—

Can it further be denied that our farms have to pay 2½ per cent. on sugar, and 10 per cent. on their other harvests, when gathered, the same as all engaged in raising live stock, for all their cattle, exclusive of the charges arising from an exportation.

That every inhabitant is compelled to ask for a licence, and pay for the same, even in case he wants to go the distance of a single mile from the place of his residence.

That he cannot remove his residence from one house into another without giving notice previously of his intention to the authorities, under the penalty of a heavy fine.

That he is not permitted to lodge in his house for a single night any person, either native or foreigner, be the same his friend or a member of his family, without giving the same information, under the penalty of a like punishment.

That he may not have in his house any company or amusement of any sort, if he does not solicit, obtain, and pay for a licence (2 dols. 50c.), or he must submit to be mulcted for an infraction of the regulations.

That he pays 6 to 6½ per cent. of the value of any slave, or any property, in town or country, that he may sell, besides all other charges of notaries, of registration, of stamped paper, &c., &c.

That some months ago an order was received by the Captain-General of the island, prohibiting parents from sending their children to the United States for purposes of education; and that such parents are now driven to the expedient of proving ill health, or feigning it, in their children, in order to obtain passports for them.

The Cubans are not only compelled (says the *Charleston Mercury*, showing the aspect under which this question is regarded in the States) to support an army for their own subjection, but the effete and corrupt monarchy of old Spain lives by the money extorted from them. The taxes wrung from them annually would long since have crushed them but for their energy, and the unexampled richness and fertility of their wonderful and beautiful country. Twenty millions of dollars a year are exacted by the Government from some three hundred thousand people. (The population amounts to more than a million.) And what a Government! The despotism of Russia or Turkey is beneficence itself, compared to it. Should a people so situated rise to vindicate their rights, and draw their swords for independence, there is not a heart in the broad South, not a friend to her institutions, but will burn with sympathetic ardour in their cause. President Taylor may put forth proclamations, and use or abuse his high office to truckle to Northern fanaticism, and to repress any generous sympathy, or more efficient support in the shape of men and bayonets, to aid in such a struggle, but his edicts will be in vain. He will have to establish here a tyranny as despotic as that which exists in Cuba, before he can hinder an American citizen from going where he pleases, to fight for an oppressed people against their oppressors. Thousands of our gallant sons will go to that glorious island to rescue it from Spanish or negro domination, if called on by the people of Cuba. They will not allow this garden-spot of the world—this key of the Gulf of Mexico—this gate of the Mississippi river—more important to the south, and the great valley of the west, than all the middle States and northern to boot—to fall under any control inimical to their interests. In despite of the Buffalo platform, which Mr. Webster asserts to be genuine whiggery, declaring that no more slave States shall be added to this Union, they will place another star on our flag, among the brightest of them all, and make it there to shine for ever.

The proposed assistance for Cuba looks like the annexation of another Texas, by the slave States of the south, and by similar means. The Americans first establish themselves in the country, obtain possession of some of its lands, excite enterprise and the love of liberty by their

example, and then aid, if they do not incite, revolt. In this instance the American Government appears to stand entirely free from all blame. There is no proof that it has encouraged the Cubans to entertain such projects, but the proofs are distinct and positive that it has forbidden the armed interference of its own subjects. The connexion between the two people is less one of politics than of circumstances. They are intimately connected by trade; and the existence of slavery in an island more than two-thirds as large as England, teeming with fertility, unites the interests of Cuba with those of the southern States of America. On one essential point only they are at variance—the Cubans still carry on the slave-trade. The captain-general gives his support to a company, organised by Senors Parepo and Pastor, to supply the island with slaves. But the Government of the United States has declared as strongly against the African slave-trade as any Government of Europe. Cuba, under its jurisdiction, would have to give up the African slave-trade, but it would be all the better market for the slave-breeding States of the south. It would enable the Virginians and the Kentuckians to transport their households to Cuba; and, as farming in the south is a most profitable business, realising the American idea of an earthly paradise, the possible annexation has prodigious attractions for the inhabitants of the southern States. They promote the expedition, they exaggerate the oppressions of the Cubans, and they hold out to them, to encourage a *pronunciamiento*, the prospect of sharing their own advantages.

Perhaps few countries, certainly no colonies, except our own in the Pacific, have advanced so fast in prosperity as Cuba, making the Government of the mother country, which, with some good qualities, has many bad ones, at variance, as the complaints we have quoted prove, with the progress of the people. Since the relaxation of the old colonial system, and the opening of other ports to trade than the Havana, foreign merchants and mechanics have been freely invited into Cuba, and encouraged or allowed to establish themselves, in forgetfulness or in contravention even of the regulations which concede only such privileges to foreigners as Spaniards may receive in the countries to which they belong. The Government is said to have given particular attention of late years to the improvement of the communication in the interior of the island. The same object has been zealously promoted by the inhabitants, including many go-a-head Americans settled there, and the island boasts, according to Mr. Madden, of ten lines of railways. According to *Hunt's Magazine*, there are nine constructed of aggregate length of 257 miles, and two others are in progress. They have been made by private enterprise, and yield, with moderate charges, considerable profit. The Havana line, 108 miles long, carried from "the 1st of October, 1847, to the end of September, 1848, 133,886 passengers, 175,678 boxes of sugar, 371 hds. of sugar, 2,260 hds. of molasses, 4,312 pipes of rum, 5,018 bags of coffee, 45,414 bales of tobacco, 1,588 waggon loads of corn, 2,770 waggon loads of plantains, 1,282 waggon loads of malojas, 3,470 hogs, besides various merchandise." The island possesses a number of steam-boats which keep up frequent communications with the towns on the coasts; it is periodically visited by our West Indian mail steamers, and it has periodical "communications with New York, Charleston, New Orleans, the Antilles, Vera Cruz, Laguayra, Chagres, and by the latter port with the Pacific."

Its productions are rapidly increasing and its trade extending. In 1827, the exportation of sugar from Cuba was 156,158,924 lbs.; in 1847, it was estimated by an American authority at 542,000,000 lbs. "The exports of sugar for eleven months in 1848," it is added, "December not being included, were 1,210,917 boxes. The exports of other staple articles for the same eleven months of 1848 were as follows:—Coffee, 708,491 arrobas of 25 lbs.; molasses, 205,559 hds.; rum, 11,909 pipes; tobacco leaf, 4,647,737 lbs.; cigars, 146,239 thousands; copper ore, 561,826 qts. of 100 lbs." The production of coffee, however, is rapidly declining in Cuba, owing to the superior advantages of the Brazils and other places for the cultivation of the berry, and the exports fell off from 2,133,867 arrobas in 1837 to 708,491 arrobas in the eleven months ending with November, 1848. In 1827, the quantity exported was upwards of 50,000,000 lbs. The production of tobacco, however, as of sugar, is annually increasing. In 1842 it amounted to 5,012,838 lbs.; in 1847 it rose to 9,309,506 lbs.; but in 1848 the crops suffered severely from hurricanes and droughts.

In 1828 (says the *New Orleans Weekly Bulletin*), the imports amounted to 19,534,922 dollars, the exports to 13,414,362 dollars; while in 1848 the imports had increased to 32,389,119 dollars, and the exports to 27,998,970 dollars. But to show more clearly the comparative advancement, the following table is presented, condensed in periods of five years:—

	Yearly average of imports and exports.	Increase during five years.	Per centage of increase.
	dollars.	dollars.	per cent.
1828 to 1832 .....	30,920,111 ....	.... .... ..	per cent.
1833 — 1837 .....	36,314,956 ....	5,395,745 ....	14.9 ,,
1838 — 1842 .....	49,073,615 ....	12,759,659 ....	25.9 ,,
1843 — 1847 .....	50,149,797 ....	1,076,182 ....	2.1 ,,

To this statement, however, which is copied from official documents, one-third must be added, to include the exports and imports smuggled;

that being the amount, according to the best authorities, which pass in and out of the country without being recorded at the custom-house. The change in the condition of the island may be known from the fact, that for a long period all the expenses of the government of the island were defrayed by the mother country, but now a large revenue is annually transmitted to Madrid.

In 1788 (says the same authority) the entire revenue of the island, from every source, was only 885,358 dollars; in 1794 it had increased to only 1,136,918 dollars; in 1830 it was, in round numbers, 8,900,000 dollars; in 1840, 11,700,000 dollars; in 1847, 12,800,000 dollars. A favourable feature connected with this great increase in the resources of the country is, that there has been no augmentation of taxes, but rather a diminution, and the growing wealth of the country has not been oppressed with burdensome imposts. For the sake of convenience, we give a table condensed in periods of five years, showing the average revenue, and the per centage of increase and decrease of taxes:—

	Average yearly revenue.	Increase of taxes during each five years.	Per centage of increase.
1828 to 1832	8,787,234	....	per cent.
1833 — 1837	8,948,560	161,326	19-10 "
1838 — 1842	11,254,377	2,305,817	20 5-10 "
1843 — 1847	10,766,760	487,617 dec.	4 5-10 decrease.

Notwithstanding the complaints of the Cuban authority we have quoted, which refer chiefly to police regulations, trade seems tolerably free, and the import and export duties moderate, the maximum being 33½ per cent. *ad valorem*, and the minimum 27½ per cent., subject to numerous qualifications, which we will not here repeat. Cuba enjoys a warehousing system which contributes, with moderate duties, to prosperity. Increasing so rapidly in wealth, and still containing large districts of uncultivated land, that would amply repay the services of an army of adventurers such as America can send forth in disregard of its Government—possessing, from situation, climate, and fertility, great productive powers and great facility for trade—it is a tempting prize for adventurers to wrest from the dominion of Spain. At the same time its inhabitants, except in language, have as much affinity with the Americans as with the Spaniards. About half the trade of the island is carried on with the United States. It is dependent on them for grain and flour. In contiguity, as well as in business, the interests of the inhabitants of the United States and of Cuba are closely connected; and should the expedition take place—should Cuba be revolutionised and separated from Spain, it will be more the consequence of these natural circumstances than of political intrigues or political ambition.—*Economist*.

Subsequent intelligence from the United States affirms that the expedition is now at an end. On the 6th of September last, the steamers *Seagull* and *New Orleans*, which were fully equipped for the occasion, were seized at New York, and several of the leaders arrested and held to bail. It is said that the non-arrival of funds from the conspirators in Cuba prevented their sailing some days earlier. The *Seagull* was laden with powder, weapons, and military stores, among which were 1000 muskets and a small howitzer battery. The *New Orleans* was to have carried the men, which she could have accommodated to the number of 1000. The *New York Tribune* says that the amount of money expended has been considerable; that newspapers have been subsidised, agents and officers supported, and some thousand men kept under pay for a month or more. The greatest excitement is reported to prevail in Cuba. The Captain-General had called out a military force of 4000 men, and had sent large bodies of troops to Principe, Trinidad, and Santiago de Cuba, which towns, it was rumoured, were in a state of insurrection. The English Consul had written to Jamaica for the Governor to send more ships for the protection of British interest and property.

#### NUMBER OF SLAVEHOLDERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

No census has ever given us the number of slaveholders. We hear, and see, and feel so much of their power, that we are apt to confound them with the white population of the South. It is one of our popular delusions that every southerner is the owner of slaves, whereas, in fact, the people who are for ever threatening to dissolve the union unless permitted to govern it, are a very small landed aristocracy.

In an address to the non-slaveholders of the south, published some time ago, arguments and statistics were brought forward to prove that each master could not, on an average, hold less than ten slaves. Of course, on this average, the slave population divided by ten would give the number of owners, viz., 248,771. This number, deducted from the white males over twenty years old, in the slave states and territories, viz., 1,016,307, would give us 767,596 adult white non-slaveholders.

A fact has recently come to light which most conclusively proves that this supposed average of ten slaves to a master is very far below the true number. It seems there has been a late census (1848) taken in Kentucky of voters, of slaves, and of slaveholders. Mr. Underwood, of that state, in a recent speech, published in the *New York Express*, gives the number of voters (1848) as 139,612; the number of slaves,

192,470; and the number of slaveholders, 8,743; being an average of more than twenty-two slaves to each master.

Now, let it be recollected that the slaves are necessarily less concentrated upon Kentucky farms than they are upon the large cotton and sugar plantations of the more southern states. It is well known that the great planters hold from 100 to 2,000 slaves.

A letter from the parish of Ascension, Louisiana, giving an account of the ravages of the cholera, lately published in the newspapers, says: "Mr. Trist has lost twenty negroes; Kenner, thirty-one; Deile, forty; Minor, sixty-six. Col. Bibb has lost seventy-four; Bishop Polk, sixty-four." But let us apply even the Kentucky ratio, obviously too small, to the whole slave region, and the result is astounding. The whole number of slaves, men, women and children, were, by the last census, 2,487,711. This number, divided by twenty-two, gives 113,077, as the sum total of the slaveholders in the United States. Beyond all question, even this is an exaggerated estimate.

We are now qualified to judge of the accuracy of the estimates made by the slaveholders themselves of their number.

Mr. Horace Mann, in a speech, 30th June, 1848, in the House of Representatives, observed: "I have seen the number of actual slaveholders variously estimated, but the highest estimate I have ever seen is 300,000." (He was here interrupted by Mr. Gayle, of Alabama.) "If the gentleman from Massachusetts has been informed that the number of slaveholders is only 300,000, then I will tell him his information is utterly false." Mr. Mann—"Will the gentleman tell me how many there are?" Mr. Gayle—"Ten times as many." Ten times 300,000 being 3,000,000, there were, according to the gentleman from Alabama, more slaveholders in the country than slaves! Mr. Mead, of Virginia, seeing the awkward position in which Mr. Gayle had placed himself, came to his relief, by remarking, "When father or mother owned slaves, they were considered the joint property of the family, and thus, including the grown and the young, there are about 3,000,000 interested in slave property." Thus was it attempted to neutralise one absurdity by another. Allowing, on an average, six persons to a family, the slaveholders, their wives and children, cannot in the aggregate exceed 600,000, nor the slaveholding voters 100,000.

This small, but powerful aristocracy, wield the political authority of the states in which they reside, and this they do, not only by their wealth and superior education, but by making the masses believe that by protecting and perpetuating slavery they are promoting the general good. According to Mr. Underwood, there is in Kentucky a majority of 130,867 non-slaveholding voters, yet at the recent election most of these men were wheedled and threatened into perpetuating the "patriarchal institution" in that State.

#### CASE OF MR. BARRETT, WHO HAS BEEN IMPRISONED FOR CIRCULATING INFORMATION AS TO THE UNEQUAL POLITICAL PREPONDERANCE POSSESSED BY SLAVEHOLDERS.

It is obvious that the power of the masters rests wholly upon the ignorance and subserviency of the non-slaveholders. Hence the wrath and trepidation manifested by the slaveholders, whenever an attempt is made to enlighten the poor humble voters as to the influence of slavery on their interests. Some years since, the New Orleans papers announced that 500 copies of an address to the non-slaveholders had been received at the post-office in that city, but that, instead of being delivered to the persons to whom they were addressed, they were burnt! Mr. Barrett has recently been arrested in South Carolina, and is now in prison. His sole offence, the only one of which he is accused, is that of having deposited in the post-office sealed wrappers, addressed to certain white citizens, containing a printed tract, written by a native citizen of the State, and virtually addressed to the non-slaveholders of South Carolina. This tract points out various provisions in the State constitution, which, it contends, were contrived to give a political preponderance to the owners of slaves. It shows that the representation of the several counties in the legislature is apportioned according to the slave, and not to the white population.

Thus it appears, from the tables given, that the two plantation districts of Georgetown and Beaufort, containing 7,743 whites, and 45,673 slaves, have, together, six senators and ten representatives; while the district of Spartansburg, having 17,924 whites, and only 5,687 slaves, has but one senator and five representatives. In this manner care is taken to give to the few slaveholders more representatives than to the many non-slaveholders. So far is this system carried, that less than one-third of the free white population elect a majority of the members of both houses of the legislature. The tract also shows that the property qualification for a seat in the legislature is virtually an exclusion of non-slaveholders. No man can be elected to the lower house, unless he possesses real estate worth 700 dollars clear of debts, or 500 acres of land and ten negroes. To be a senator requires double the amount of real estate. The legislature being thus secured to the slaveholders, that body appoints the whole judiciary, including justices of the peace, and the presidential electors; and to perpetuate this monopoly of slaveholding power, no alteration can be made in the constitution but with the assent of two-thirds of two successive legislatures. The writer proposed a voluntary convention to form

a new constitution to be submitted to the legislature. Not a word is said against slavery as unjust or criminal; but its pernicious influence with poor whites was pointed out, and its extension to the new territories, to which poor whites are flocking, deprecated. Yet, for merely putting in the post-office this tract, under blank covers, is Mr. Barrett treated as a felon, denounced as an "incendiary abolitionist," and, as we learn from a Carolina journal, liable to "twelve months' imprisonment, and 1,000 dollars fine." Nay, we are assured "there is more than a probability that Mr. Barrett may be indicted for an offence, the penalty of which is death, without benefit of clergy, and assuredly, if convicted, all the abolitionists in the United States cannot save him."

We see, in these efforts of the slaveholders to keep their indigent fellow-citizens in ignorance of the wrongs they suffer, and of the rights to which they are entitled, and to punish whoever would enlighten them, a despotism as jealous and as heartless as any known in the whole world.

Our 100,000 slaveholders are now threatening 20,000,000 of people with rebellion and civil war, if forbidden to establish, over vast regions of the American continent, now free, the system of white serfage, with a landed aristocracy like that with which South Carolina is cursed. To their insolent and iniquitous demand the Wilmot proviso interposes a stern denial. Yet multitudes of northern citizens, recreant to their own republican professions, and actuated by the most selfish, sordid motives, are devising how they may co-operate with the champions of human bondage in preventing the enactment of the proviso. Many of the whig leaders, fearful of offending their southern allies, are heaping contempt upon the proviso, by calling it "an abstraction," and denouncing those who insist upon it, a faction! The hunker democracy, in the face of the world, unblushingly avow that they cannot consent to divide the party, and sacrifice their expectations of power and emolument merely to secure the future liberty and happiness of New Mexico and California.

When we read of the princes of Dahomey or Gaboon entering the villages of their neighbours, burning their homes and carrying off their people to be sold into perpetual slavery, none can be found here so stolid or so politic as not to shiver with horror at the tale; but when it is proposed to open a new market for property thus acquired in a vast territory which we found free, and by force of arms have subjected to our rule, we find, even in the State of New York, a party unwilling to express any opinion upon the subject by which, as a party, they will be bound, lest they peril thereby their political fortunes. It is a saddening reflection, that with all the political and social advantages which are enjoyed under American institutions, there should be so little difference, morally, between Gaboonism and Hunkerism, between the leaders in Dahomey and the leaders at Rome.—*New York Evening Post.*

### Foreign Intelligence.

**UNITED STATES.—ANNEXATION OF CUBA.—THE PLOT DISCOVERED.**—The following proclamation has been issued by the President, in reference to a plot which is in progress for an armed invasion of Cuba, with the object of annexing that island to the United States. How will the present slaveholding administration proceed in the matter? It will, doubtless, outwardly disapprove of the movement; but our suspicions are, that covertly it will take a different course. Such was the mode of operation of Polk's administration in relation to Texas. This game was played so successfully on that occasion, that it would be wonderful were not its projectors tempted to a second trial. We shall hear more of this conspiracy anon.

**PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.**

Washington, August 14, 1849.

There is reason to believe that an armed expedition is about to be fitted out in the United States, to invade the island of Cuba, or some of the provinces of Mexico. The best information which the Executive has been able to obtain, points to the island of Cuba as the object of the expedition. It is the duty of this Government to observe the faith of treaties, and to prevent any aggression by our citizens upon the territories of friendly nations.

I have, therefore, thought it necessary and proper to issue this proclamation, to warn all citizens who shall connect themselves with an enterprise so grossly in violation of our treaty obligations, that they will thereby subject themselves to the heavy penalty denounced against them by our acts of Congress, and will forfeit their claim to the protection of this country. No such persons must expect the interference of this Government, in any form, in their behalf, no matter to what extremity they may be reduced in consequence of their conduct.

An enterprise to invade the territories of a friendly nation, set on foot and prosecuted within the limits of the United States, is in the highest degree criminal, as tending to endanger the peace and compromise the honour of the nation; and, therefore, I expect all good citizens, as they regard our national reputation, as they respect their own laws and the laws of the nations, as they value the blessings of peace and the welfare of their country, to discountenance and prevent, by all lawful means, any

such enterprise; and I call upon every officer of this Government, civil or military, to use all the efforts in his power to arrest for trial and punishment every such offender against the laws for the performance of our sacred obligations to friendly powers.

Given under my hand, the 11th day of August, year of our Lord 1849, and the 74th of the Independence of the United States. By the president,  
JOHN N. CLAYTON, Secretary of State.

Z. TAYLOR.

**THE TRINIDAD PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS.**—In our last number we gave an extract from the *Trinidadian*, stating that the Portuguese immigrants were about leaving in a body for the United States. It appears that they were so dissatisfied with their treatment, that they had determined on seeking a refuge in a country affording greater advantages. The *New York Observer*, of the 28th of July, notes the arrival of a large number of these people in New York, in a state of destitution; the following is the paragraph:—

In addition to the large number of these suffering men and women who have already been for some time in this city, preparing to remove to Illinois, sixty-two more arrived last week from Trinidad; and from the following letter of the Rev. Mr. Gonsalves, the Portuguese missionary of the American and Foreign Christian Union, now visiting the Portuguese converts in the island of Trinidad, it will be seen that still another hundred may be expected within a few days. The A. and F. C. Union, having no means either to send these poor exiles into the interior, or to sustain them here, much suffering is apprehended unless funds are promptly supplied from some quarter. We submit the case to the American Christian public, with the expression of the hope that they will do what the exigencies of the case so urgently demand. The letter of Mr. G., which was addressed to the secretary of the A. and F. C. Union, is as follows:—

Trinidad, July, 1849.

My dear Brother,—I have chartered the American brigantine *Nancy*, Captain T. D. Davis, to take as many of the persecuted exiles as the law will allow according to her tonnage, which is sixty-two. The passage-money is all paid; expenses of water casks, lumber for the berths, and provisions, all have been paid here. But the captain says he will have to pay head-money to the authorities of New York, on account of the emigration law. \* \* \* These brethren have strained every nerve to pay their passage, and have borrowed from one another. Some have laid up their few dollars by great self-denial, and, I may say, almost starvation. I imagine, my dear brother, how much money a man who has a wife and three or half-a-dozen small children, can lay up in this sickly climate, who has to work on a sugar-cane plantation, under a burning sun, and frequent, heavy showers of drenching rain, from morning till night, for twenty-five cents and thirty cents per day, without board or house rent, here, where flour is sold by the lb. at the rate of twenty dollars per barrel, and salt beef for twenty cents per lb. These things can be bought cheaper at wholesale, but where can the poor labourer get money or credit to buy by the quantity, when he is obliged to live from hand to mouth? In fact, I am astonished that any of them have laid up a dollar, especially those who have families. I hope you will be able to forward these brethren to Illinois as soon as convenient. They are anxious to get to work as soon as possible. In a few days I hope to send 100 more in a barque. There is no opportunity direct to New Orleans. In vain have I looked for one, and the merchants here do not know of any chance direct for New Orleans this season.

**MARTINIQUE AND GUADALOUPE.**—We have received Martinique journals of the 15th instant. Things were still at sixes and sevens throughout the colony. Much dissatisfaction continued to be felt regarding the amount and mode of distribution of the compensation money; and the newspapers are a good deal occupied with grumblings on the subject, and enter largely into the principles upon which this compensation had been decided by the radical influence of the SCHÖELCHER party.

"Let the most radical spirits," says the *Courrier*, "think what they please upon that slavery which was imposed by France upon the colonies; let them regard it as an institution profoundly immoral and revolting. We grant it was; and we do so the more willingly, having ourselves fought in the breach against it. But, detestable as it was, that institution was not the less a work of the national will, and which carried with it civil and political consequences that cannot be departed from with impunity. To discard this doctrine, is to break in upon reason, to snap the springs of the social mechanism, and compromise the machine itself. And yet it is by such successive and multiplied departures, that France has been shaken in her most friendly endowments. Behold how England—faithful guardian of the generous and essential principles of her government—maintains her peace at home, and her power abroad. England, when desiring to free her colonies from the bonds of slavery, never for a moment cavilled upon the question of what compensation was to be made: 500 millions (of francs) in cash were counted out to them. Justice was thus done by England."

Steps are being taken by the Government for the introduction of European immigrants. We read the following official notice in the Martinique papers:—

"In conformity to a recent despatch from the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, a credit of 100,000 francs has been allowed in the budget for the service of 1849, to facilitate European immigration to the colonies. This credit is to be employed under the conditions laid down in the law of 19th July, 1845, which requires a contract to be previously entered into between the immigrant and the proprietor. Preference to be given to those engagements which tend to encourage the emigration of families and companies of workmen. The Government will allow expense of passage, at the rate of 250 francs for adults, and 150 francs for children; out of which, fifty francs will be given to the immigrants, and the residue to the contractors, so soon as they shall have completed all the necessary arrangements for the voyage."

"The Administration hastens to give publicity to these arrangements, which, however, should be considered as only temporary, the Marine department being occupied upon a combined plan to be introduced on this important question."

The quantity of produce exported from that island, from the 1st of January to the 1st of July in the present year, is as follows, reduced to English weights and measures:—Muscovado sugar, 26,516,383 lbs.; molasses, 42,500 gallons; rum, 109,000 gallons; coffee, 296,019 lbs.; cocoa, 250,385 lbs.

At Guadaloupe, the public peace had been disturbed. On the part of the authorities, however, it appears there was no want of firmness and energy.

Governor Fabre, on the 3rd instant, addressed the following proclamation to the inhabitants of Point-à-Pitre:

**"INHABITANTS OF POINT-À-PITRE,"**

"The tranquillity of your town has been several times disturbed by private quarrels upon politics, and which, but for the measures adopted by the authorities, might have led to serious disasters.

"I regret to say, these collisions are owing to the continued excitement kept up by the press. If those who profess to direct public opinion would duly reflect upon the subject, they would at once see the abyss to which they drag this unfortunate country, and to what calamities we may be driven by the passions they have so imprudently excited.

"Let the well-disposed citizens of all classes be confident, and let them keep aloof from those whose reason has been by evil counsel misled to the point of daily compromising that public peace, without which the confidence so necessary to commercial transactions can never be preserved.

"I hope that all parties will hearken to the voice of him who has come to place himself between them, and who has nothing more at heart than to see union regenerated in the land entrusted to his direction.

"Tranquillity must not, in short, be any more disturbed; I am fully determined to use the extraordinary powers vested in me for the maintenance of order, and to have recourse to the rigours of the law for putting down street-agitations."

Governor-General Bruat had returned from his visit to Guadaloupe and Marie-Galante. The *Proserpine* frigate arrived at Fort-de-France on the 1st instant, with specie to pay the first portion of the compensation awarded to the late proprietors of slaves. Of this money, Martinique is to have 1,507,885 francs (about £566,000 sterling); and Guadaloupe, 1,947,164 francs, (about £731,000 sterling.)

**GUADALOUPE AND MARIE GALANTE.**—The elections at these French colonies have terminated in favour of the "Montagnards" Schoelcher and Perrinon, against the "Moderates" Bissette and Richard. The votes ranked as follows:—For Schoelcher, 13,290; for Perrinon, 13,163; for Bissette, 3,957; and for Richard, 3,947.

**LIBERIA.—WAR WITH THE SLAVE-DEALERS—SCARCITY OF FOOD.**—The Boston *Traveller* of the 5th instant says:—We have received our files of the Liberia *Herald* to the 13th of May.

The expedition sent by Governor Roberts to New Cesters and Trade Town, for the destruction of the slave factories at those places, returned to Monrovia on the 28th of April. The troops, more than 400 in number, were conveyed to New Cesters by a French steamer; and three British vessels, one or more from the French squadron, and the U. S. ship *Yorktown*, accompanied the expedition.

The fullest success crowned the undertaking. The slavers were completely routed, and their establishments, at both places, destroyed. The slaver at New Cesters had raised the whole country in his defence, and supplied the natives liberally with munitions of war, and when the Liberian expedition attempted to land, led on in person the natives by thousands, to oppose a landing. A few bombs from the French steamer kept them at bay, and under cover of her fire the troops pushed boldly ashore and formed on the beach. The Spaniard did not show himself afterwards, but the natives, concealing themselves behind rocks, trees, and bushes, kept up a continual and annoying fire for two days. As soon as the line of march was taken up for the barracoon, the slaver hastened to the factory, and applied a torch. When the Liberians arrived there, the house was a heap of ashes; it was built of mud—so thick and well dried, it would have resisted a six-pound shot. It was three feet thick, twelve feet high, and beautifully whitewashed—and enclosing a perfectly level

and well-cleaned area of about two and a half acres of land, presented a beautiful sight in the deep green wilderness, in the bosom of which it was situated. Six or seven men were killed of the natives, the rest taking to their heels. Not a man was killed or seriously wounded among the Liberians. No resistance was offered at Trade Town. The slaver there had heard of the fate of his compatriot below, and as the men marched up to his factory, he advanced to meet them, suing for mercy in the humblest attitude.

The amount of property destroyed by this expedition was not known, but is said to have been large. The troops brought back with them two Spaniards and thirty or forty slaves. Previous to setting out upon the expedition, the forces assembled in the Methodist Church in Monrovia, and there united in prayer to God, that he would prosper their undertaking.

Liberia was experiencing the natural consequences of war, even from this brief and successful military enterprise. The *Herald* says:—

"The present scarcity and high prices of provisions, especially of breadstuffs, are but a forerunner of what will be experienced ere the season has passed over. The expedition, from causes which could not be controlled, took place just at the time when we should have been burning off and preparing our lands for planting. The natives had been some time kept in excitement awaiting the war, and neglected their farms. They are already beginning to pour in upon us, to divide, by theft or otherwise, the little stock of provisions which we have. Already bacon, middling, is up to twenty-five cents; flour, thirteen to fourteen dollars the barrel; and rice, two to two dollars fifty cents a bushel. When all these things are taken into account, we will find that breaking up these slaves has cost us from 7,000 to 10,000 dollars—an enormous sum for young Liberia. We do not repine. We had rather suffer these inconveniences multiplied tenfold, than permit so gross a violation of our laws, so great an outrage upon humanity, within our territory. It is to be feared we shall have again to take up the cudgel, and use it vigorously, both to the windward and leeward."

The schooner *Lark*, presented by the Queen of England to the republic of Liberia, arrived at Monrovia on the 16th of May.

About the 10th of May, a felucca was descried at a distance off Galenas, by the British cruiser *Alert*. It being a dead calm at the time, two boats were sent in chase. She used her long oars, but the boats approached her rapidly. As soon as they got within pistol shot she opened a terrible fire of musketry, killing one officer, two seamen, and severely wounding nine others. One of the boats got alongside, but she kept up so continual and brisk a fire, that she was forced to haul off and retreat. Immediately thereafter, a breeze sprang up, when the brig made sail after her, but night coming on, she was lost.

### Colonial Intelligence.

**JAMAICA.—SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.**—Public meetings were held at Kettering and Refuge, on Wednesday, the 1st August, for the purpose of adopting petitions to the House of Commons, for the exclusion of slave-grown sugar from the British markets; at the first place, there were present about 300; and at the last, about 1,000 of the labouring population.

The following are the resolutions which were adopted, and the petition submitted to the meetings for signature, to be forwarded to the British House of Commons:—

1st. "That while this meeting, rejoicing in the return of another anniversary of freedom, would render thanks to the God of all mercies for the hitherto peaceful and happy reign of liberty in this island, and would cherish the warmest sympathy for those who are still deprived of their liberty, it would record its conviction that a solemn duty rests upon the inhabitants of Jamaica to hasten the universal destruction of slavery, by their liberal offerings, their holy lives, and judicious discharge of every civil duty."

2nd. "That believing the Sugar Act passed by the British legislature, in 1846, has caused distress among all classes in this island,—that it has increased the sufferings of slaves employed in the cultivation of sugar,—and given an impetus to the African slave-trade,—this meeting resolves on presenting a petition to the British House of Commons, praying for the enforcing of those treaties entered into by the Spanish and Brazilian Governments, for the suppression of the slave-trade; or in default of faithfully keeping those treaties, to exclude their produce from the British market,—as the only means of averting ruin from this island, and putting an end to the accursed traffic in human flesh."

3rd. "That this meeting would thank Almighty God for the success which has hitherto attended the labours of the Anti-slavery Society, and esteems it a distinguished honour to be permitted to contribute its feeble efforts in seeking the overthrow of slavery throughout the world."

#### THE PETITION.

"The Petition of Labourers and others in the island of Jamaica, assembled in public meeting at the Refuge and Kettering Baptist Chapels, in the parish of Trelawny,

"SHEWETH,—That your petitioners are suffering very great de-

pression in their circumstances, arising, as they believe, from the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British markets, under the Sugar Duties Bill recently enacted by the Imperial Parliament.

"That while your petitioners admire the principles of free trade, and believe themselves capable of competing successfully in the British market with sugar grown in any part of the world, where free labour is alone employed, they feel it utterly impossible for them to contend with those countries where the lives and comforts of the producers are totally disregarded.

"That your petitioners would further express their unfeigned sorrow that the above-mentioned facts have materially increased the sufferings of all slaves employed in the cultivation of the sugar cane, and caused the African slave-trade to be carried on with renewed vigour and increasing horror.

"That your petitioners believe the British Government have it in their power to avert impending ruin from their West India colonies—to suppress the African slave-trade,—and speedily to effect the extinction of slavery throughout the West Indies,—by enforcing the treaties entered into with the Spanish and Brazilian Governments for the suppression of the African slave-trade.

"Your petitioners, therefore, entreat your Honourable House to address Her Majesty, to the intent that instructions be given to the principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to demand from the Brazilian and Spanish Governments the liberation of all Africans and their descendants, who have been illicitly introduced into their colonies or territories; and in the event of their refusing or delaying compliance with this demand, to notify to them that measures will be taken to exclude their produce from the British market, until they abolish slavery in their dominions.

"GEORGE LYONS,  
("On behalf of self, and upwards of 1,300 of the labouring  
population, and others.")

A similar meeting was held in the Court House, Montego Bay, on the 29th ult. At the hour appointed, the Court House became so densely crowded that an entrance could scarcely be obtained. The chair was taken by Archdeacon Williams. There were present, his Honour the Custos, the Revs. Messrs. Moore, Garrett, Ashley, Moss, Reid, Phelps, Hewett, and Dendy; also Robert Dewar, J. L. Lewin, R. Buchanan, H. Groves, Isaac Jackson, W. H. Knott, W. Ewart, Esqrs., &c., &c.

A public meeting of the labouring population was held on the 2nd of August, at Falmouth, James A. Vine, Esq., occupied the chair.

The resolutions and petitions were similar in character to those already given.

**BARBADOES.**—The general condition of agricultural affairs in the island was highly gratifying. The month of August had proved most seasonable, rain having fallen continuously. The sugar crop of 1849 being finished and nearly exported, the planters were turning their attention to the cultivation of the canes for 1850, which promised a most abundant yield. Landed property in Barbadoes, sugarworks especially, was readily purchased by capitalists, a proof of the confidence reposed in the agricultural capabilities of the island. The proceedings of the House of Assembly were of a purely local interest, the road and other bills having passed. The closing of the sugar crop, and its exportation, coupled with the wet season, had the tendency of depressing trade generally. The large supply of native food also decreased the consumption of imported provisions.

**ST. LUCIA.**—As the crop season is drawing to a close, and our shipments of the staples not far from being completed—only two vessels now loading in the port, and two more expected to arrive, but which will not be filled with the produce of this year—we may venture, whilst giving an account of the quantity that has been actually shipped, to estimate also what is likely to be the total exports of the year, at the same time comparing it with last year's accounts.

From the 1st of January to the 21st instant, the exports amount to 3,869 hhds., 178 tierces, and 1,953 barrels of sugar; 717 puncheons molasses; and twelve puncheons rum. Compared with the exports of the corresponding date last year, this account exhibits a surplus of 309 hogsheads, 100 tierces, 388 barrels sugar, 286 puncheons molasses, and a decrease of fifty-nine puncheons rum. After the 21st of August, last year, two vessels (*Castries* and *Ruby*) took the residue of the crop, which amounted to a total of 4,089 hogsheads, 78 tierces, and 1,673 barrels; equal in all to 4,420 hogsheads of sugar, 574 puncheons of molasses, and 107 puncheons of rum. Now, the two vessels at present receiving cargo (the *Monarch* and *Osbert*) will probably take 450 hogsheads, which, with the addition of at least 150 hogsheads, which are likely to await the later vessels, would bring up the total sugar crop of 1849 to about 5,000 hogsheads, or about 500 hogsheads over the exports of last year.

This so far favourable result is to be ascribed, first, to an almost uninterrupted succession of good seasons having, at every progressive stage of cultivation and manufacture, aided our planters in turning to the best account such slender means and materials as they could

command; and, secondly, to the opportune reinforcement of labourers obtained from Government in the earlier part of the year.

Barring the uncertainty of weather, and other casualties, we are inclined, even now, to augur favourably of the preparations which are being made towards the future crop; and, were the persevering exertions of the West India Committee, and others in the mother country, who espouse the suffering cause of British colonial industry, to be at last crowned with that success which its justness demands and is entitled to, we should not despair of yet seeing the harassed West Indians enabled to bear up against the sea of troubles hitherto overwhelming their interests.

**LIBERATED AFRICANS.**—Six months have just elapsed since it was our gratifying task to notice the arrival of a number of liberated Africans to be settled amongst us as agricultural labourers. We then expressed it as our opinion that those Africans—for whose acquisition, by the way, we are indebted to the lively interest taken in the prosperity of this colony by the London house of Marryat and Sons—had only been sent here upon experiment, and that it would depend upon the tenor of the reports which should proceed from the local government as to their treatment, by those who employed their services, whether or not more of the same class of labourers should be conceded to us. The best proof is now at hand that we were not mistaken in that view. By a published official notice it appears that a vessel has been despatched for the conveyance hither of a new batch of immigrants from Sierra Leone, to be distributed amongst our planters on the same terms and conditions as those applied in the case of the first importation.

The vessel taken up by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, for the conveyance of this second batch of Africans to our shores—the ship *Fame*, Dougald, master—sailed from London in the middle of June for Sierra Leone; so that, judging by the voyage of the *Una* in February last, it is not unlikely we shall have the *Fame* here about the first week of September. This vessel is of 732 tons burthen, and rated to carry 415 "statute adults"—equal to nearly 500 individuals, young and grown up, which would be upwards of 100 more than the complement of the *Una*. We only hope that the coming cargo may arrive in as good condition, and turn out as well as the one preceding; in which event, both the colony might be congratulated upon the acquisition of so many able-bodied and well-inclined labourers, and the Africans themselves upon the good fortune of falling into hands so ready as our planters to bring them under the humanising influence of civilisation.

It will be remembered, that the number of Africans landed here, by the *Una*, in February last, was 363. Upon inquiry, we find that out of this number there have occurred eight deaths: one, on the Union Estate, from apoplexy, and another from falling into the boiling cane-liquor; one, from dysentery, on the Anse Galet; two, from pleurisy, on the Two-Friends Estate; one, on the Morne Courbaril Estate, a few days after reaching the estate, having been affected with dysentery on board ship; and two out of four invalids lodged in the Poor Asylum on landing from the transport ship. Proper medical attention, we need scarcely say, was promptly afforded in each of these cases. In general the health of the Africans has been remarkably good during the half-year they have been settled in the country; and they have suffered from neither endemic fevers nor any other disease; a few cases of Guinea-worm only having been seen amongst them. Unless we subscribe to the doctrine learnedly propounded by Dr. Bonyun, with reference to Demerara, "that the miasm (peculiar to banks of rivers, creeks, and islands) which is so deadly to the European, is a congenial stimulant to the native of Africa," we should be inclined to attribute the paucity of sickness amongst our African settlers, as well to the precaution adopted by the authorities of avoiding to place them in damp and unhealthy localities, as to the care bestowed on their comforts by the parties employing them.

As agricultural labourers, these people are generally acknowledged to have proved of the greatest benefit to the estates on which they have been located; they are good-natured and cheerful, and work willingly under the stimulus of the reward of money-payment, of the value of which they already evince a keen appreciation. They have established fine provision grounds for their own use, have begun to employ a portion of their leisure time in cultivating the sugar-cane on the metairie system, and are most comfortably housed.

When the flattering promises held out in the general character and conduct of these Africans, and the fostering kindness and liberality with which they are met and encouraged by the planters, are considered, it is pleasing to contemplate what must eventually be the result as to the general interest of the colony.

**DOMINICA.—SLAVE-TRADE TREATIES.**—An important meeting of the inhabitants of the island was held on the 4th of August last, for the purpose of urging upon the British Government the necessity of enforcing existing treaties with Spain and Brazil, for the suppression of the slave-trade. The following petition was adopted:—

TO HER MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, QUEEN VICTORIA.

Gracious Sovereign,—We, the undersigned inhabitants of this your Majesty's island, desire to approach your Majesty's throne, and, with this

our humble petition, to represent that at a public meeting held in Roseau, the capital town of this island, on Saturday, the 4th of the present month, and consisting of your Majesty's loyal subjects, *planters, merchants, ministers of religion, mechanics, labourers, and others*, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

First.—That at this moment there are thousands of persons who are unlawfully and cruelly held in slavery in the Spanish colonies and in the Brazils, in contravention of the treaties in force between Great Britain and Spain and the Brazils, and contrary to the laws of the latter State, passed in furtherance of such treaties.

Second.—That Great Britain owes it to herself and the high place she occupies among nations, to take measures for compelling Spain and Brazil to observe the treaties they have entered into with her.

Third.—That Great Britain owes it to the great cause of humanity to exert her power in procuring the release of the Africans in the colonies of Spain and in the Brazils, who are detained in slavery there, in defiance of the solemn engagements to which she has been a party, and in compliance with which she has on her part paid vast sums of money.

Fourth.—That the policy of Great Britain having placed her sugar producing colonies in a disastrous competition with the slave-labour countries of other States, Great Britain is bound, in common justice to those dependencies, to take all legitimate means for rendering such competition as little injurious to them as possible: and that she will materially contribute to this object, when in regard to what is due to herself, and to the urgent demands of humanity, she requires Spain and the Brazils to liberate the freemen they wilfully detain in slavery.

Fifth.—That her most gracious Majesty and the two houses of Parliament be addressed by the inhabitants of this island, in humble petitions, inviting her most gracious Majesty and the imperial Parliament to take such measures as will enforce a strict observance, on the part of Spain and the Brazils, of the treaties and laws referred to, in so far as may ensure the liberation of those unfortunate persons who are now held in slavery, in opposition to such laws and treaties.

Sixth.—That a committee be appointed to carry out the object of this meeting as expressed in the foregoing resolutions.

Deeply impressed with the views and sentiments contained in those resolutions, we crave permission to fulfil the mission entrusted to us, by laying them before your Majesty, and by further praying that your Majesty will deign to take them into favourable consideration, and will fulfil the united wishes of your people of Dominica, or grant such relief as in your Majesty's wisdom may seem meet. And we, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

**MAURITIUS.** — "Sir George Anderson fully realises the hopes entertained of him. He seems quite aware of the great responsibility of his appointment, and is determined to use all his efforts to reform the administration of the colony. It is an arduous task. A treasury nearly empty—an expensive Government establishment which it is known the colony cannot support—an imperfect system of immigration to be remodelled—an irregular taxation to be reformed—the administration of justice, the mutation of property, and the registration of deeds requiring a strict and intelligent investigation—an improved communication with Europe to be organised so as to insure punctuality; these are the first subjects that present themselves, and give an idea of the state in which Sir G. Anderson finds the colony. Yet he appears to have a mind capable of grappling with all these complicated and embarrassing questions, provided his physical strength prove equal to his perseverance."

"Already committees are appointed for the following purposes:—

"To examine into and report on the present expenses of immigration, and how it may be relieved of part of that expense; if insufficient, how is it to be increased, and whether the proposed stamp duty cannot be raised at a time convenient to the planter, in preference to increasing the export duty on sugar.

"(A report has been presented, recommending an extra export duty on sugar for the payment of the expenses, which his excellency did not approve of; he therefore begged the committee to reconsider the subject and report on it more generally.)

"At the suggestion of his excellency an ordinance has been presented and passed, extending the term of contract of service to three years.

Several despatches, containing the views of the Secretary of State on many subjects referred to him, had been read in Council. The most worthy of notice were those containing a formal approval of all that Sir W. Gomm said and did as regards the Committee of the Colonists. His lordship appears most anxious that this body should not be recognised, refuses to make any reduction in the contributions of the colony towards the military expenses, and refers to former despatches for his opinions on administrative and financial reform.

The Committee of Colonists waited on his excellency the governor on the 29th of June, to present a memorial on the revenue and expenditure

of the colony. This document passes in review the whole of the Government establishments, and points out where reductions can be made. It also proposes a new system of revenue, to be raised at a considerable diminution of expense.

The expenditure of the colony, including immigration,	£176,000
is reduced to .....	32,000
Reserve for expenses of public utility not foreseen.....	
Actual expenditure .....	£208,000

—Mauritius Mail, July 14th.

### Miscellanea.

**THE SLAVE-TRADE.**—The brig *Boston* arrived at this port this (Monday) morning from Bahia, July 26th. Trade was very dull at Bahia, one reason for which is stated to be the capture of several slavers, with full cargoes of negroes, by the British cruisers. Four vessels had been thus captured by them within a short time previous to the sailing of the *Boston*. The horrible trade is still prosecuted with considerable briskness. Four vessels, undoubtedly slavers, had sailed from Bahia for the coast of Africa within two or three months, and five or six more were fitting out. A dreadful affair took place near Bahia, of which we have before had some account. A slaver, pursued by a British cruiser, took refuge in shoal water near the coast. Here she went ashore, when the captain, and most of the slaves (about two hundred in number) were drowned.—*Traveller. (U. S.)*

On the 10th of July, her Majesty's ship *Waterwitch*, Commander Quin, whilst cruising off Golobar, west coast of Africa, about eight, p.m., discovered from her mast-head a sail to the northward, but it being nearly calm at the time, and very hazy, she was soon lost sight of. Captain Quin determined on despatching two of the fastest boats he had, viz., the gig and whaler, in chase, under the command of the senior lieutenant, W. C. Forsyth. Soon after leaving the ship they sighted the stranger, apparently a large brig, well manned. Finding the gig very slow, and not likely to come up soon, Lieut. Forsyth pushed on alone with the whaler. On perceiving him, the vessel stood near him, as if to run him down, but on his nearing her, notwithstanding her exertions, she ran on shore, and immediately opened a heavy fire, which he at once returned with good effect, as they were soon obliged to retreat to the shore, where, strange to say, they were joined by the natives, and kept up a continued fire. Not until the *Waterwitch* came up and anchored with a spring on her cable, and opened a fire with her 18-pounders, did the piratical rascals retire to the bush. In the meantime the vessel had been boarded and taken possession of, by the coxswain of the whaler, and corporal of marines, gallantly swimming through a heavy surf. The gig by this time had closed, but was unfortunately swamped; the crew, however, reached the shore in safety. After destroying the slaver, rafts were constructed, and the following day the lieutenant succeeded in embarking his men without a casualty. The prize turned out to be a notorious vessel that has made several successful voyages, was manned with a crew of forty seamen, and fitted to carry 1000 slaves.

### DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following subscriptions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subscriptions.
<i>London.</i> —Post, Jacob.....	1 1 0	
Brewer, T. ....	5 0 0	
<i>Stoke Newington.</i> —Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association .....	5 0 0	
<i>North Shields.</i> —Subscriptions from J. R. Procter .....	8 10 0	
<i>Wednesbury.</i> —Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society ..	20 0 0	
<i>Colchester.</i> —Rudkin, John .....	0 10 0	
Catchpool, Mary .....	0 10 0	
Cross, William .....	0 10 0	
Shewell, Joseph .....	0 5 0	
Catchpool, Thomas, jun. ....	0 5 0	
Knight, Thomas .....	0 5 0	
Tabor, J. A. ....	0 5 0	
Chaplin, William .....	0 5 0	
Cooper, William .....	0 5 0	
Brock, Major .....	0 2 6	
Torriano, Mr. ....	0 2 6	
Smith, R. ....	0 2 6	
Bridge, T. ....	0 2 6	
Wix, J. ....	0 2 6	
<i>West Bergholt.</i> —Daniels, Thomas .....	0 5 0	
<i>Levies.</i> —Proud, Eliza.....	0 10 0	
<i>Otney.</i> —Smith, A. H. ....	3 0 0	
<i>Waterford.</i> —Jacob, Maria .....	5 0 0	
<i>Jamaica.</i> —Collection at Fuller's Field, per Rev. Mr. Hume .....	3 12 0	
<i>Frankfort.</i> —Pinkerton, Dr. ....	0 13 4	

Printed by JACOB UNWIN, of No. 8, Grove Place, in the Parish of St. John, Hackney, in the County of Middlesex, at his Printing Office, 31, Bucklersbury, in the Parish of St. Stephen, Walbrook, in the City of London; and published by PETER JONES BOLTON, of No. 8, Kennington Terrace, Kennington Lane, in the County of Surrey at No. 27, New Broad Street, in the Parish of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, in the City of London.—MONDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1849.

Sold by W. EVERETT, 14, Finch Lane, and 17, Royal Exchange.